Bp. PARKER's History

OF

His Own Time,

In FOUR BOOKS.

With *Remarks* upon each, and the ſame compared with Biſhop *Burnet*, Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, *Bevil Higgens* Eſq; F. *Orleans* and other Hiſtorians who have wrote of that Period.

To which are added,

Two Original Journals of the EXPEDITIONS to *Spain* and *France*, during the Reign of King CHARLES I. Now firſt publiſhed from the curious Collection of Manuſcripts of the Right Honourable GEORGE Lord LANSDOWNE.

WITH

An impartial Account of *Parker's* LIFE, and of his *Converſion* from *Presbytery* to *Popery*.

Tho' in *Oxonian*-Archives hid ſome Years,
The boaſted *Lyon* a meer *Mouſe* appears.

LONDON:

Printed for H. CURLL in the *Strand*,
M,DCC.XXVIII.

(Price Six Shillings.)

BRITISH MUSEUM

SOME

ACCOUNT OF Parker's LIFE.

OUR, self-stiled, *incontinent* (voluminous) *Scribler** was born at *Northampton* in the Year 1640. *Samuel Parker* was the Spawn of *John Parker*, who having been inured to Pettifogging, through all the dirty Work of the Law; "betook "himself (says the *Oxford* Antiquarian) as his best "Practice, to be a Sub-Committee Man, or as the Stile "ran, one of the Assistant-Committee in *Northamp-* "*tonshire* in the Time of the Rebellion. Afterwards "scraping up Wealth, and gaining Credit thereby, "he became one of the Number of those that gave "Sentence against *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, *Robert* Earl of "*Holland*, and *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, who were "all beheaded.

Here leave we the Father, and return to the Son, as being more material to our present Purpose. —— *Tanta molis erat.*

---

* *Parker* in his Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to his *Defence* and *Continuation of Ecclesiastical Polity*, says, *I am reformed from my Incontinency of Scribling*, &c.

" As for *Samuel*, continues Mr. *Wood*, he was by " the Care of his Parents, ſevere Puritans and Schiſma- " ticks, puritanically educated in Grammar-Learning " at *Northampton*, and being made full ripe for the " Univerſity, he was ſent to *Wadham Coll. Æt.* 16. " *Ann.* 1656, where, under the Tuition of a Preſ- " byterian Tutor, he did according to his former " breeding, lead a ſtrict and religious Life, faſted, " prayed with other Students weekly together; and " for their Refection feeding on thin Broth, made of " Oatmeal and Water only, they were called *Grewel-* " *lers*. He went with his Clan once a Week, or of- " tener, to an Houſe in the Pariſh of *Halywell* near " their College, inhabited by *Beſs Hampton*, an old " hump-back'd Laundry Maid; who, from her " Youth up, being very much addicted to *Presby-* " *terianiſm*, had frequent Meetings for the *Godly Party*, " eſpecially for thoſe that were her Cuſtomers. To " this Houſe did *Parker* often reſort, and was ſo zea- " lous and conſtant a Hearer of the Prayers and Ser- " mons there held forth, a Receiver of the Sacraments, " and ſuch like; " that as Mr. *Dryden* ſays, in the *Hind* and *Panther*,

Thus whiten'd with the Foam of Sanctity,
He was eſteemed a precious Saint to be.

" Upon the King's Return in 1660, being then " Batchelor of Arts, (*like a true Fanatic, ruminating* " *which would be moſt for his Intereſt*) he was for " ſome Time at a Stand what to do, yet, notwith- " ſtanding he did pray, cabal, and diſcourſe to obſtruct " *Epiſcopal* Government, Revenues and Authori- " ty; but being diſcountenanced in his doings, by " Dr. *Blandford*, then Warden of *Wadham* College, he " went from thence, Mr. *Wood* tells us, to *Trinity* " College, and by the prevailing Advice of Dr. *Ba-*

" *thurſt*",

" *thirſt*", he became a moſt hopeful *Convert*, as his Conduct has manifeſtly ſhown.

" He avouched his *Reformation* in Print, and in " 1663, proceeded Maſter of Arts as a grand Com- " pounder, *&c.* Member of *Trinity* College, and af- " terwards entering into Holy Orders, he was fre- " quently in *London*, and became, as it is ſaid, Chap- " lain to a Nobleman, and a great Droller on the " Puritans.

Thus acting the Part of a *Merry-Andrew* on one Side, and that of a *fawning Sycophant* on the other, in 1665, he publiſhed his TENTAMINA *de* DEO, and dedicating them to Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; inſinuated himſelf, thro' all the Canails of the moſt fulſome Flattery, into the Favour of that great and good Man. " About that Time he became Fel- " low of the *Royal Society*, and in 1667 leaving *Ox-* " *ford* for all together, he was made one of the Chap- " lains to the ſaid Archbiſhop, being thereby put " into the Road of Preferment.

" In 1670, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of *Canter-* " *bury*, and the ſame Year, had the Degree of Doctor " of Divinity conferred on him at *Cambridge*. In " 1672, he was inſtalled Prebendary of *Canterbury*, " and had the Rectories of *Ickham* and *Chartham* " in *Kent* beſtowed on him. In 1685, he reſigned " his Prebendſhip to Dr. *Bradford*," and in 1686, upon the Demiſe of Dr. *John Fell*, one of the moſt pious and learned Prelates, that ever filled the See of *Oxford* *, was ſubſtituted in his ſtead, thro' the well known Corruption of thoſe Times. Our Fanatical, Anti-Epiſcopalian, Dr. *Samuel Parker*, had the Li-

* *Fellum* & *Aldricium*, duo illa Reipublicæ noſtræ Literariæ Lumina, mente contempler. Vid. ORATIO. V. R. *Fran. Atterbury*, S. T. P, Hab. *Oxon*, die Admiſſ. ad Decanatam, *Æd. Chriſti*, 1711. Impenſis *H. Curll*, 1727.

berty

berty allowed him to keep his Arch-deaconary in *Commendam* with it. The Year following King JAMES, ſent a Mandate to elect *Parker* Preſident of *Magdalen* College, *Vi & Armis*, contrary to the Statutes of the Univerſity. In the illegal Poſſeſſion of this Poſt, he ſhortly after died. Thus he, who was bred a rigid *Presbyterian*; conformed, as being moſt for his Intereſt, to the *Church* of *England*; was ready cut and dried for a *Papiſt*, as is plainly manifeſt from the vile *Reaſons* he publiſhed *for Abrogating the Teſt*. He had the Aſſurance to propoſe in Council, that, *it was expedient one College (at leaſt) in Oxford, ſhould be under Catholic Tutors, that the Students might not be forced to be at ſuch Charges in going beyond the Seas to ſtudy*. He likewiſe invited two *Roman*-Catholick Noblemen to a Banquet, drank the King's Health to an heretical Baron in Company, wiſhing a happy Succeſs to all his Majeſty's Affairs, and *Parker* added, that, *the Faith of the Proteſtants in* England, *ſeemed to him, to be but little better, than that of* Buda *was before it was taken; and that they were for the moſt part Atheiſts that defended it*. And Father *Petre* the Jeſuit (Privy Counſellor to King *James*) gives this honeſt Character of *Parker*.

"The Biſhop of *Oxford* (ſays he) has not yet declared himſelf openly: The great Obſtacle is his "Wife, whom he cannot rid himſelf of, his Deſign "being (like the Vicar of *Bray*) to continue *Biſhop*, "and only change *Communion*, as it is not doubted "but the *King* will permit, and our holy Father "(the *Pope*) confirm: Tho' I do not ſee how he "can be farther uſeful to us in the Religion in which "he is, becauſe he is *ſuſpected*, and of *no eſteem* among "the Hereticks of the *Engliſh* Church: Nor do I "ſee that the *Example* of his *Converſion* is like to "draw many others after *him*, becauſe he *declared* "*himſelf ſo ſuddenly*. If he had believed any Coun-

"ſel,

" ſel, which was to temporize for ſome longer Time, " he would have done better, but it is his Temper, " or rather Zeal that hurried him on. *

Among the Heap of thoſe ſcurrilous Writings, with which he has peſtered the publick, (his Pen being more filthy than the Fiſt of a Night-Man) it was the Opinion of that eminent Lawyer and pious Chriſtian the Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, that *Parker*'s Piece, called *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, tended to the *Injury* of *Religion* it ſelf, and he wiſhed the Author would openly profeſs to write only for *Himſelf*, and no more ſo abuſively pretend it is for the *Cauſe* of Religion. †

As to the Controverſy between him and Mr. *Marvell* occaſioned by the ſame Book, *Ant. à Wood* fairly owns, that, " it was generally thought, by thoſe " who were otherwiſe Favourers of *Parker* s Cauſe, that " he thro' a too looſe and unwary handling of the " Debate, laid himſelf open to the ſevere Strokes of " his Adverſary, and that the Odds and Victory " lay on *Marvell*'s Side: It likewiſe wrought, adds " he, this good Effect upon *Parker*, that for ever " after it took down the Inſolence of his high Spi- " rit, inſomuch that he judged it more prudent to " lay down the Cudgels, than to enter the Liſts with " *Marvell* a ſecond Time.

The Body of this notable Prelate, converted from *Presbytery* to *Popery*, lies buried in the *South-Ile*, or outer Chapel belonging to *Magdalen* College. It were to be wiſhed that this *Legendary Hiſtory* of his *Life* and *Times*, had been *buried* with him; for I doubt not but upon a Peruſal, it will be apparent to every judicious Reader, that by its *Publication*, his

* *See* the Collection of Papers, relating to the preſent juncture of Affairs in *England* 1688. part 3. pag. 17, 18.

† *Baxter*'s Defence of the Nonconformiſts, part 2. pag. 187.

Son

Son has only raiſed a *Monument* of *Infamy* to his Father's *Aſhes*. And whatever Notions may be entertained by the ſmall Remnant of *Anti-Revolutioniſts* exiſting in this Iſland, they may be fully convinced, from our now happy Conjuncture of Affairs, that, *no other Diſtinctions* are likely to *be heard of among us for the Future, but of thoſe who are for the* PROTESTANT RELIGION, *and the* PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT, *and of thoſe who mean a* POPISH PRINCE, *and a* FRENCH GOVERNMENT. So that as we daily partake of thoſe Bleſſings which the *diſſaffected* call King *William*'s Legacy, we ſhould be highly ungrateful to his Memory, did we not comply with this his laſt glorious Requeſt.

7 DE 61

Biſhop PARKER's HISTORY OF His Own Time.

BOOK I.

WHEN *Charles* the Second returned to the Kingdoms of his Anceſtors, he was received with the Joy of almoſt all his Subjects, and we hoped for ſomething more than *Golden* Days: and now the Eſtabliſhment of Monarchy, the perpetual Peace of the Church, the Tranquillity of the Common- 1660.

wealth, which was entirely reſtored, and which might laſt as long, at leaſt, as we and our Grand-children ſhould live, were what every Man promiſed to himſelf and his Family. For all the States of the Kingdom ſtrove among themſelves to augment the Dignity of the King, they fortified all ſuch Places as were an *Aſylum* for Treaſon, they renounced the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, which was the Oath or Teſt of the *Presbyterians*, and enjoined all the Subjects to renounce it; the Duties upon Goods imported, as well as upon our own Manufactures, (from whence the Treaſon of former Times had ſprung) they ſettled, for the future, upon the King for his Life: they alſo gave him the power of making War, by Laws they reformed the Church, which was furniſhed with full Power and Authority; and laſtly, every honeſt Citizen rejoiced that he had eſcaped the Infelicities of War, Attainder, and the Gallows; and the very Fanaticks and Traytors ran mad with the unexpected Joy that they ſhould live: For what could more firmly eſtabliſh the Throne, than the Reſtoration of the King, with the greateſt Joy and Acclamation of the People, when the Treaſon was ſo freſh in their Memories? What could make the Government more free from the danger of Commotion, or rather Rebellion, (for there can be no War between the People of the ſame Commonwealth, at leaſt where a King reigns, but the other Party, who are Enemies to the King, muſt be Traytors to a Man) than the great Power which all the States of the Kingdom conſented to heap upon the King alone, eſpecially thoſe who had fought on his Father's ſide, on account of Matters

ters of the greateſt moment? Finally, when the King himſelf, with almoſt unheard of Clemency, vanquiſhed his Enemies by an Act of Oblivion; when the common People had long enough felt the Miſeries of Rebellion; when Occaſion, when the Ringleaders, when the People failed to ſtir up Sedition, and raiſe Tempeſts in the State, what elſe could we expect, than almoſt an heavenly Government? eſpecially, when the Parricides of the beſt of Kings were puniſhed, (though even the Lives and Blood of all of them were ſpared, who repented of their Wickedneſs, and ſubmitted to the King's Mercy) it was lawful for all the reſt to contract Friendſhip, and enter into one common Society, and that too, which ought to be the Intereſt of the Commonality of the ſame Country. And that all Fear and Suſpicion might be removed from all Men, every one's Honour and Eſtate were confirmed to him, without Mutilation by open Law: Afterwards, that the Memory of former Variance might be buried in everlaſting Oblivion, all good Subjects were forbid to upbraid the wicked Agents of the former Times with what they had done. Nay, laſtly, that the moſt ſtubborn Enemies might be in good hope that all things would be the more ſecure, ſeveral of them were received into the King's Friendſhip, into the greateſt Places at Court, and of the Revenue, and into the Privy-Council.

But ſo ungrateful, like Snakes, is the Nature of Traytors, that they always repay good Turns with Stings and Poiſon: For when they began to get new Life under the King's Clemency, when every Man's Crimes were blotted out by an Act

of Oblivion, when they perceived that their Poſſeſſions and Riches, acquired by War, (which as the Day before Yeſterday they would have joyfully reſigned, if ſo they might be ſuffered to live upon any terms whatever) would be given to them as the Wages of High Treaſon, they immediately became ſo malicious, that they ſcattered their Venom thoughout all the Commonwealth, and endeavoured to dart their Stings in the very Breaſt of the King. And though for a long time they nothing prevailed, yet to loſe their Pains can never be ſo great as to deter wicked Men from their ill Deſigns againſt their Country. And ſome who had been too happy, acted ſo fooliſhly, being troubled in mind, that they ſeemed not to care if their own Houſes were burnt, provided there was a general Conflagration.

But of theſe things hereafter. There were others, who being deprived of all their Goods and Eſtates, which they got by Treaſon and Sacrilege, hoped that they ſhould recover their ancient Honour, by deſtroying and turning the Commonweal upſide down. There were, for the moſt part, four ſorts of Men; the broken Officers of *Cromwell*'s Army, the fighting little Preachers of the Goſpel, the States of the late diſmembred Senate, and laſtly, all ſacrilegious Perſons, who let paſs the Reſtoration of the King and Church, which was ſuddenly taken away from them. Theſe preſently, having privately conſpired among themſelves, entered into a League with that part of the Republick, which was averſe to Monarchy. And to manage the matter, they placed a great Council, compoſed of the Dregs of all their own Parties

at *London*, who ſhould govern the other Conventicles, which they had every where in all Towns and Villages. By which Familiarity and Acquaintance, if they had done nothing elſe, yet they attained this one great point, that they maintained the Secrecy of all their Factions among them, as they would their own Kindred. And they all plotted together by Agreement ſo cloſe, and, as it were, almoſt glued together, that it did not ſeem to be ſo much a Conjunction of Conſpirators, as of Kindred and Acquaintance. And they travelled as Strangers up and down in their own Country, after the ſame manner that the *Jews*, who were expelled out of theirs, wander throughout the whole World. They judged it to be unlawful for them to keep company with any of the Commonwealth, to contract any Friendſhip, or intermarry with any of them, or to traffick with them, except it were with ſuch as were of their own Party. No Man or Maid-Servant, no Apprentice was admitted into their Families, except they alſo agreed by Compact to join in their ſanctified Fellowſhip. For this reaſon every one of the old Traytors kept his own Station; and what is ſcarce credible, the Faction was every where increaſed by great Multitudes of Men unexperienced in Arms. A more private Seſſions of Men had the charge of the chief Matter of all things. Theſe were about ſixty Captains of *Cromwell*'s Army, who held a Council every Week in *London*, and they gave themſelves the Title of the chief Counſellors of the Commonwealth, and therefore called themſelves by the endearing Names of Kindred: as, according to the Cuſtom of *England*, by which

the

the King uſes to call the Noblemen *Couſins*, who are of the Privy Council. By the ſame Authority alſo, with which they governed their own Republick, they governed the Provinces of their own Parties. By their Command, Colonels and Captains were ſent into their ſeveral Counties, to enroll and regiſter the Names of their Soldiers; Commiſſioners, for the ſake of ſafer Intercourſe, were deputed from all ſides: and, laſtly, every ſeditious Preacher had his Station allotted to him. From hence it came to paſs, that nothing ſhould be undertaken ſeparately, but whatever they had a mind to attempt, muſt be firſt brought to the Common-Council: For though various Conſpiracies broke out in various Places, yet every Man's Counſel was ſpread through each County in the King's Dominions. The Teſtimony of thoſe who were privy to their Counſels, the Confeſſions of thoſe who were guilty, and the intercepted Letters of the Conſpirators, plainly diſcovered whatever Opinion or Judgment was given in any of their Aſſemblies. As yet the King was ſcarce refreſhed from his long Baniſhment, when they, allowing no Reſt to themſelves or to him, raiſed up the Troubles of a Civil War. For when the King returned about the end of the Month of *May*, Summer not being yet come, they had prepared all things for a War *. A Night was appointed, in which they determined to ſeize

* See the Lord Chancellor's Speech to the Parliament, *Dec.* 29. 1660.

upon

upon the Tower of *London*, and the Caſtle of *Windſor*, the two chief Fortifications of the King's Palace; and, at the ſame time, they prepared to raiſe warlike Tumults in the Weſt and North Countries. But when all their Deſigns were daily laid open to the King, he in the nick of time ſent the principal Ringleaders to Priſon. Amongſt theſe was Colonel *Holmes*, who, twenty-five Years afterwards, was taken in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, and hanged in the eightieth Year of his Age. Theſe Men confeſſed their Crime before the King, and begged that it might not be laid to them: they diſcover'd that there was a Conſpiracy every where, to turn Monarchy into a Democracy. They who ſeemed to amend and come to themſelves again, counſelled him to beware daily of ſudden Inſurrections: Schiſmaticks were never quiet; as often as the Heads of one Rebellion are cut off, another preſently, as long as the Body of the *Hydra* remains, will ſpring up again. The Power and Will of Rebelling will never be wanting: neither did they deceive themſelves or the King by their Conjecture, when they themſelves made the Sowers of Treaſon, and he the Harveſt of Traytors.

But *Ludlow* was at the Head, and, as it were, the Dictator of all the Conſpiracies; who, tho' he was baniſhed, yet governed all their Councils: neither did they do any thing but what he commanded. And what encreaſed the Courage of the Faction, was, that he promiſed he would be preſent at every Rebellion: For he was a ſtrong and warlike Man, daring and more hardy than

than Wiſdom required, not only a Parricide, but a moſt malicious Enemy to the King's Cauſe. For he bound himſelf by an Oath, never to be a Friend to his King; neither, if the King would of his own accord give him his Hand and his Pardon, would he accept them: but was reſolved to wage everlaſting War againſt all Tyrants, for ſo they called all the Royal Family. And though he failed in many, and they too very great Attempts, yet he continually ſtudied to contrive freſh Commotions. *Danvers* was next to him, the moſt noted *Anabaptiſt* in *Cromwell*'s Army; who alſo from the very Inſtauration of the King's Reign, even to this very day, continues to heap one Wickedneſs upon another: and being at this day ready for Rebellion, he ſaved his Neck from a Halter, either by flight, or by hiding himſelf, having been very active in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion.

1661. In the Year 1661, on the 6th Day of *January*, *Venner*'s Fury broke out, accompanied with a Rabble of forty Enthuſiaſts; he was a Wine-Cooper come over from *New-England*, and it was begun and ended almoſt on one and the ſame Day in the City of *London*. I might call theſe a new Species of Fanatick Monſters, if *Africa* had not formerly produced its *Circumcellians*, and *Germany*, in the Age paſt, her *Anabaptiſts*; but theſe took their Riſe from the very Dregs of *Cromwell*'s Rebellion. The firſt thing that prompted them to War, was, that they believed they ſhould be the Body Guards of their King, *Jeſus*.

For

For he was to return to the World ſome time or another, and erect for himſelf a *fifth* Monarchy. To this End he commanded his Followers to make a Way for him by the Murder, Death, and univerſal Slaughter of the Wicked, and that he would proſper what they took in hand. Upon this the untractable Rabble run headlong into all Dangers: Neither do they conſult what might probably be done, but they attempt whatever comes into their Heads. Before they put on their Accoutrements, which they did in the moſt private Part of the Conventicle, *Venner* preached to them, uſing this ſacred Argument inſtead of a Text (as we call it) *One Man ſhall put Ten to flight, and Ten ſhall make a Thouſand run*; in his Declaration, wherein he ſet forth the Reaſons of the War, he promiſed the ſame Things to his Followers, as if he had been a Prophet ſent down from Heaven. Their Enemies, they ſay, will not dare to touch an Hair of their Heads; that they themſelves were the Men who were only choſen to do this peculiar Work of the Lord; neither would they ſheathe their Swords, until they had made *Babylon* (for ſo they called *Monarchy)* contemptible and curſed; nor ſhould a Remnant be left, not a Son, or a Grandſon. When they had led *Captivity captive* in *England*, then they were to carry their Arms into foreign Nations, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*; they would aſſemble their Brethren together from all Parts of the World, to aſſiſt them in deſtroying the *Whore*; they would never make a Truce, or Peace, with the *Monarchy-Men*, for that was the Term they uſed; but would always riſe up to poſ-

ſeſs the Gate againſt the *carnal* Men, (for that Word *Gate* was the private Signal which they were to uſe in Battle) and *to bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron.* They were ſo bewitched with theſe Fancies and Chimæras, that theſe Poltrons, tho' they were but forty in Number, did not doubt conquering with eaſe, not only a City ſo large and populous, but even the whole World beſide. The Hardieſt of theſe were ſlain, the Reſt were hanged. Hitherto there was not ſo much a War, as the Prelude of a War; or rather a Tumult and Rabble of a few hot-headed Men who could not be kept within Bounds. For the Conſpiracy did not reſt among theſe few Mad-Men, it had ſpread itſelf long before throughout the whole Kingdom. Nor did a Week paſs about, in which it did not appear that there was a Conſpiracy formed againſt the King's Life. Innumerable Letters from the Fanaticks, of every Faction, and every County, were intercepted, exhorting one another to be quick and diligent in doing the *Work of the Lord.* Abundance of Arms were found in a Vault under the Houſe of one *Pearſon*, in *Devonſhire*, one of the moſt notorious Knaves among the Fanaticks; for this was the Circuit which *Venner* had taken ſome time before. Two hundred Letters were alſo taken from one Meſſenger, writ from thoſe in that County to their Brethren in *London*, profeſſing their *earneſt Deſire and exceeding Love for the Cauſe.* The ſame Night that *Venner* appeared at the Head of his Followers in *London*, the *Anabaptiſts* in the County of *Lincoln* rode about, as if they were going to do ſome great

great Thing, as is well known to the People of that Country. Finally, a Letter from an *Anabaptiſt*, whoſe Sir-name was *Millinex*, directed to *Fellico*, a *Quaker*, and written concerning the Diſpoſition of the *Cheſter* Rebellion, was diſcovered at the ſame Time; it was to this Effect: "I hope you and yours are well, we "are all in good Health, ſee that you be "faithful to your Friends. I tell you that "we ſhall gather together in great Numbers, "not leſs than ſix Thouſand. I give you No-"tice of this, that you may communicate to "the Reſt of your Brethren, in what hoſtile "Manner we aſſemble, for the Sake of de-"fending the Truth. We are to meet at "*Cheſter* on the twenty fourth Day of the "firſt Month (*January*). Beſure to remem-"ber the Day. Farewel. And do not for-"get to meet your Brethren there." The *Quaker* (as he ingenuouſly confeſſed) being terrifyed at the Boldneſs and Preſumption of the miſchievous Act, diſcovered the whole Matter to the Mayor of *Cheſter*. He revealed it to the Earl of *Darby*, who calling the Man to him, that had diſcloſed the Conſpiracy, and enquiring more concerning it, he immediately raiſed all the Militia in the County of *Cheſter*, called the *Palatinate*, (of which his Anceſtors had been Lord-Lieutenants for many Ages) and of the County of *Lancaſter*. This was at the ſame Time communicated to the Lord-Lieutenants of the Counties of *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Salop*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and the Weſt-riding of *York*; and, therefore, having all their Troops in Readineſs, and committing all *Cromwell*'s Officers to Priſon, they

broke all the Faction's Meaſures by that Blow. But, though this Fire was every where extinguiſhed, yet the Sparks of it broke out in ſeveral Places. Even *Wales*, which to that Day had been unaccuſtomed to Treaſon, now firſt beheld ſuch Monſters in the World, and was amazed at the Novelty of the Thing. But fifteen of the Ringleaders of *Cromwell*'s Faction being taken, prevented themſelves to this Day from becoming a Prey to foreign wild Beaſts. But though Traytors in *Wales*, like Snakes in *Ireland*, are killed by the very Nature of the Climate; yet in later Times here in our *England*, they are produced almoſt every Month, in Number more than the very Frogs, as if they ſprung up of their own accord, or rather were nouriſhed by *Preſterian* Treaſon. For the Year was not as yet ended, when, *Nov.* 23*d*, an Aſſembly of the old veteran Traytors were taken in the City of *Weſtminſter*. Among theſe were chiefly the broken Officers of the Army; *Packer*, *Streater*, *Weilks*, *Gladman*, *Heins*, *Litcott*, *Kewrick*, *Read*, and others; Men, whoſe Names were moſt famous among all *Cromwell*'s Party. They being committed to Priſon in the Nick of Time, the Conſpiracy was deſtroyed in the Birth: Except that a while afterwards, one *John James*, who was a moſt famous Preacher among the Fanaticks, inſtructed his Congregation in his Meeting-houſe, which was in *White chappel*, to butcher the King, the Royal Family, and all the Nobles: He extolled *Venner* and the other Rebels for Martyrs, adviſing to expiate, and make Atonement for their Blood, by Parricide, and the Murder of their Countrymen. But when they

they would not give over, though many of them were daily flung into Priſon, all the Officers who had been in *Cromwell*'s Army, were ordered to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*; and go unarmed, as often as they appeared abroad, otherwiſe they were to be impriſoned. The ſame was done, for the ſame Reaſon, by the Privy Council in *Ireland*.

On the third of *December* the Commons addreſſed the King, that he would lay before the Houſe the Letters and Intelligence which he had received from almoſt all the *Counties* in the Kingdom, (for ſo they called the Provinces) concerning the great, or rather, univerſal Conſpiracy againſt the Commonwealth; and at the ſame Time petitioned his Majeſty to guard againſt all the Endeavours of the Rebels, eſpecially ſuch as tended to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, as to his Majeſty's great Prudence ſhould ſeem meet. *Journals. Parl.*

The King was pleaſed to refer this Matter back to the Parliament; and they quickly diſcovered from whence it aroſe, how it was diſcloſed, and after what Manner it was formed. "That there was a common Conſpiracy "of all Factions; that the chief Affairs were "managed at that time by a private Coun- "cil, conſiſting of one and twenty, (three "being choſen out of each Faction.) That "the Affair had met with a ſmall Rub; that "Princes were to be bound in Chains; that "it was ſpread far and near; and that they "could ſcarce overcome the Danger without "help." Chriſtmas-day being now at hand, and no Buſineſs to be done in the Holy-days, and reſenting the Vileneſs of the Thing, they choſe

choſe a Committee of both Houſes to enquire into the miſchievous Deeds, and to make the greateſt Diſcovery they could poſſibly.

1662. In the Beginning of the next Spring, a Diſcovery of the whole Matter was laid before the Parliament. Some of the Conſpirators were more cloſely confined, and others were taken; among theſe the Principal was one *Salmon*, who had been an Officer under *Cromwell*, who had taken a Liſt of one hundred and ſixty other Officers. They all came to *London* the tenth Day of *December* laſt, and they had reſolved to ſeize upon many Towns and Cities before the End of *January*; firſt, *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Briſtol*. Theſe Places the Duke of *Albemarle* had taken care to Garriſon with his Troops before. They were to begin their Rebelling by a ſudden Maſſacre; and there were ſeveral fugitive Parricides waiting on the Coaſt of *France* and *Holland*, ready to come over at a Moment's Warning. The Conſpirators would not ſcruple to boaſt openly that they ſhould ſucceed, if the Affair was once proſperouſly begun. A Diſcovery of theſe Things, and of a Concil of one and twenty valiant Men was made to the King. Both Houſes being incenſed at this great Boldneſs of the Rebels, they immediately ſet about to obviate ſuch great Evils, by an Act conſiſting of four Parts. They firſt take care of the Army, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Peace in troubleſome Times. Firſt, they reſolve that the Power of the Militia was, is, and for the future ſhould be in the King only. And that it ſhould not be lawful for the two

two great States of the Realm to make War againſt the King, upon any Pretence whatſoever, not even in their own Defence. Then they enacted, that the Names of all the Militia in every County, City, and Town, ſhould, by the King's Authority, be enrolled and regiſtred. The King was to place ſuch Officers over them, as he pleaſed. Their Subſiſtance-Money, as often as there was Occaſion, ſhould be paid by the Inhabitants of the County. That they ſhould have a general Field-Day once in every Year, and ſhould be exerciſed for the Space of four Days together. That every ſingle Troop or Company ſhould be diſciplined once in three Months, that they may be trained up, and fit to go to Battle. No Man, whether Officer, or Soldier, ſhould be muſtered, but who had taken the following Oath. "To ſwear, that it was impious and "wicked to reſiſt the King with Arms, upon "any Pretence whatſoever; and that they ab"horred that damnable Doctrine of High-Trea"ſon, that it was lawful to fight, by the "King's Authority, againſt his Perſon, or a"gainſt any others commiſſioned by him." So, when all the Kingdom was thus handſomely furniſhed with military Troops, (as it ſeemed) if any new Conſpiracy broke out in any Place, it would be eaſily ſuppreſſed.

The military Affairs being ſettled, the next Thing they were to take Care of, was the Magiſtrates. For, when in *Cromwell*'s Time, the Rebels had taken by Violence, to themſelves only, the Power in every City and Town; they were now turned out, and others placed in their Room. Nor were theſe ſuffered to

enter

enter upon any Office, until they had firſt taken the foregoing Oath, and renounced the Solemn League and Covenant. So that when theſe Places were the more frequented by People, where the Peſt of Sedition uſed to creep along in the Streets, they were now kept ſound, and all immoderate Liberty of Sedition cut off.

Next they proceed to reſtrain the Boldneſs of the Preſs; from whence innumerable Libels were daily put forth, in order to raiſe Sedition. From hence a Stop was put by the Parliament to every Preſs, except ſuch as were ſet up by Authority from the Stationers Company. Nor were any printed Books ſuffered to be publiſhed, but ſuch only as were approved by, and had the *Imprimatur* of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, or the Chancellor of each Univerſity. If any Bookſeller did contrary to this, firſt he was to be debarred from ſelling any Books for three Years; if he offended a ſecond Time, he was to be prohibited for ever. When that great and immoderate Liberty of Lying was taken away, which they chiefly uſed moſt immoderately at that Time, the whole Frame of Rebellion and Treaſon was broke: Which, tho' it at all times abounds with Miſchief, yet in this Age ſeemed not ſo much to bring forth whole Swarms, as to pour them forth voluntarily. Among the vaſt Number of Books, which they publiſhed for the Space of two Years, thoſe chiefly teemed with Sedition, which treated of *Prodigies*. In all theſe you might ſee daily the Wonders of *Livy*. Two Suns. Ships ſwimming in the Air. A bloody Rain-bow. It Rains

Rains Stones. A Lamb with two Heads. All the Cathedral Churches ſinged with Lightening. A Bull ſpeaks. A Hen is changed into a Cock. A Mule brings forth a young One. When the Parricides were put to Death, five young Boys were ſeen to ſtand by them. A bright Star ſhone round about the Quarters of thoſe which were affixed upon the City-Gates. The Apparition of a Biſhop, in his Lawn-Sleeves and *Rochet*, was ſeen at *Oxford*. Two monſtrous large Hogs came into the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury* in the Time of divine Service: This (they ſay) happened in the Year 1641, before the Deſtruction of the Hierarchy. When the Effigy of a Preſbyterian Parſon was to be burned, the Straw would not take Fire. Many Miniſters died ſuddenly as they were reading the Liturgy. One that rejoyced at the Execution of *Harriſon*, the Parricide, was ſtruck with a Palſey. Another, railing againſt *Peters*, as he was going to the Gallows, was very much wounded, and almoſt torn to Pieces by a Dog, which he had made tame and familiar to him. A Woman at Chicheſter was delivered of a Child, not from the Womb, but from her Mouth. Beſides theſe, there were an infinite Number of other lying Wonders. I do not make one of them myſelf, and it would grieve me to recite the hundredth Part of their Folly. Nor did they write theſe Fables only, but made Parallels, with the Puniſhments impoſed by Heaven, upon the wicked Men of the paſt Times. Nor is this all, for the Blaſphemers, in the Prefaces of their Books, called God to witneſs, as he is the Searcher of our Hearts, the Truth of all their Fables; and with bitter

Imprecations aſſerted them to be true. See the wicked, and more than *abderitical* Madneſs of fanatical *Superſtition*. Theſe Stories their Ringleaders would tell, and the People ſwallowed them greedily. I was a young Man in thoſe Days, but very well remember that they read thoſe Books as diligently as they did the Bible. There was not one of the Party, that had them not, they read them, they reverenced them. But the Law, of which we have been ſpeaking, being ſeaſonably publiſhed, there were no Prodigies afterwards, no fictitious Miracles; and laſtly, no *wonderful Tears* happened, which was the Title they gave to their Books. Laſtly, they took care of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which, indeed, was their chief Care, and proceeded to reſtore the Church of *England* to her ancient Dignity. Firſt, by the Authority of the King's Writ, a Synod of the Clergy was called: This Synod conſiſted of a double Seſſions. The Biſhops only ſate in the upper Houſe; the Deans, Archdeacons, and one Canon out of every Cathedral Church, in the lower Houſe; and laſtly, two Miniſters, choſen out of each Dioceſs, by the Majority of the Clergy. Theſe make Ordinances concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters; then their Decrees are brought to the King; if he ſhall approve them, they are brought into Parliament, that what the Church has ordained by her Spiritual Power, may be fenced by the Statute Law. When the *Convocation*, therefore, (for ſo the Synod of the Clergy is called) had ratified all Things, as they were before in the Church of *England*, except ſome Things in the Liturgy, which they did not think

think proper for certain temporal Reaſons, they brought their Ordinances to the King, and the two Houſes of Parliament, to receive the Sanction of their Authority: Hence came that moſt famous Law, commonly called the *Act of Uniformity*. By which Law, every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon was obliged in open divine Service to uſe that Liturgy only; if they did not do this, before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, they were to loſe all the Profits they had by the Church; afterwards they were to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and to deteſt it as an Impoſition contrary to the Laws of God, of Nature, and of the Kingdom. By this, one of theſe two Things muſt come to paſs, that the *Presbyterian* Miniſters muſt either return into the Peace and Unity of the Church, and at the ſame time renounce the Oath of their Perfidy and Treaſon: Or elſe depart from all their Profits in the Church, and, at the ſame time, from the Opportunities of acting their miſchievous Deeds. This occaſioned a great Diſturbance in the Faction; Men ran one way and another; they began to defend themſelves againſt this Law by entering into a new League. If they all withdrew their Obedience, the Church could not ſtand without them; there would be no Preachers any where; the People were every where preparing to deſire an Abrogation of the Law, leſt by the Scarceneſs of Preachers, their Souls ſhould periſh for want of the divine Food of the Word of God.

But the greateſt Hopes which the Faction had, were placed in their Friends at Court: For theſe being admitted into the Secrets of

the King's Council, and enjoying the greateſt Offices in the Commonwealth, they could entangle nothing but the publick Affairs; they moderated the Laws made againſt ſeditious Perſons; they were Advocates for their Offences; and laſtly, they were to endeavour this one Thing, that the Republick and the Church, being eſtabliſhed and ſet in good Order, may not increaſe and cleave together. For as that was begun, which they now ſaw was well begun, being once perfectly finiſhed, they perceived that all their Affairs would quickly fall into the greateſt Deſpair. They, therefore, run to the King, and whiſper in his Ears, (for they found by Experience, that he was inclinable enough to Clemency; and too much indeed, as it came to paſs, in ſparing them) that ſuch a powerful Body of Men ought not to be provoked raſhly, for they were the greateſt Part of the Nation, in reſpect both of Number and Riches; neither did they refuſe the old Conditions in the *Act of Uniformity*. But if theſe new, and as hitherto, never before-heard-of Chains of renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant were taken away, they would all, to a Man, come into the Church of *England*. Laſtly, If a Stop was not preſently put to this Tryal, the Matter would ſuddenly come to a total Defection of the People. To this we may add, that humble Supplications from the *Presbyterian* Miniſters at *London*, were preſented to the King in this wiſe. "Having, "before this Time, experienced your Maje- "ſty's great Mercy, We who have been al- "ways faithful, *(Good God!)* yet we cannot, "for Conſcience ſake, comply with the *Act*

"*of*

" *of Uniformity*, to which you command every " one to accede, are preſently to be turned " out of our ſacred Function, except you " take pity on us. Proſtrate at your ſacred " Feet, we moſt humbly beg, that according " to your Majeſty's great Prudence and Mercy, " you will conſider and weigh this Matter " before you begin, leſt we be driven from the " Opportunity of teaching your People, which " is a Duty we owe to God and to your Ma- " jeſty. But if, out of your great Clemency, " you will grant us this Permiſſion, we doubt " not to demonſtrate by our great Obedience " to your Majeſty, and our peaceable Behavi- " our to the Church, that we ſhall not be " altogether unworthy ſo great a Favour." When the King was ſomewhat aſtoniſhed with theſe Things, they obtained from him, with much Reluctance, to prove the Thing indeed for a time. And, therefore, when the Law was to have taken Place, and to be in Force the next Sunday, they, three Days only before, made Intereſt to be called before the Council to diſpatch the Matter, leſt ſome Body perhaps might come before the Day, who would vex and be troubleſome to them. This was what unexpectedly happened by the Prudence and Courage of one Man; and this was their great Antagoniſt *Gilbert Sheldon*, then Biſhop of *London*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. For as the Council was Sitting, he came of his own accord, for he was not then one of the Privy-Council. But he ſpoke in behalf of the Law with ſuch Fineneſs of Wit, ſuch Abundance of Eloquence, and produced ſuch Authories for the Matter, that he did not ſo much

draw

draw back, as he did force the King, the Duke, the Council, and indeed all that were there, and almoſt the very Petitioners themſelves to be of his Opinion. He ſaid, that it was now too late to ſet this Law at Liberty; and that he would give Orders to turn out all thoſe out of his Dioceſs, who had not complied with the Law, the preceeding Sunday. Which being done, they were incenſed to that Degree, that he declared, if they ſhould be reſtored again, he would withdraw from the Fellowſhip of the Clergy, and then live in the very Mouth of his Enemies. Neither could he go contrary to a Law, which was ordained by ſo great a Deſire of all good Men, by the almoſt univerſal Conſent of the Parliament, and where ſo much Deliberation was had. To this he added, that if a Law ſo ſacred was at that time to be taken away, it would expoſe the Legiſlators to the Contempt and Ridicule of the Faction; laſtly, that the Republick and the Church would never be free from Trouble and Diſcord, if factious Men were permitted to pluck away, by Preſumption and Importunity, whatever they had a Mind to. They who were preſent at the Council, being convinced by theſe and ſuch like Arguments, conſented with the greateſt Chearfullneſs, and a Kind of Vehemency of Mind, to the immediate Execution of the Law. By which it happily came to paſs, that when there was one Day only to intervene between a Change in the Council, and the Iſſue of the Matter, almoſt all the *Presbyterians*, not apprehending any ſuch Thing, but on the contrary, being pleaſed with their Eaſe, they perceived on a ſudden,

ſudden, not without the greateſt Aſtoniſhment and Murmuring, that in almoſt the Twinkling of an Eye, they were by one Slaughter overthrown, and thruſt out of their Pariſhes.

By this one Deed he for many Years delivered the Church of *England* from thoſe miſchievous Men. For Providence ſo happily ordered it, that the very Schiſmaticks hanged themſelves with their own Schiſm, their League and Covenant: They entered into a new Conſpiracy, being deluded by the great Promiſes of the *Londoners*, who would not obey the Law, but defend themſelves by their Numbers. And when the Court-Preachers would have made the King to believe that they would not go near the City of *London* on that Sunday, the moſt wiſe Prelate of that City having calculated the Number of the Faction, took care to have in Readineſs a like Number of orthodox Men, (and ſuch as were eloquent and good Scholars) who, upon a Signal given, riſing as it were out of an Ambuſh, ſeized upon all the Pulpits. And though from that time the Schiſmaticks tried all Manner of Artifice to be received into the Boſom of the Church, yet with ſuch Diligence did he prevent their Enterance, that when they ſaw their Endeavours ſo often fruſtrated, they quietly ſat down, as long as he lived, being not otherwiſe much troubleſome with their Schiſm, than as they were Schiſmaticks. A few Years after they would have raiſed new Commotions in the Church, that by repealing the Act againſt the Solemn League and Covenant, they might have the Liberty to return into her Boſom, for that was the only Obſtacle that pre- 1672.

prevented their Return; nor did they want Friends in both Houſes of Parliament, even among the Biſhops. For when the King not long before that time, having been put to great Streights and Difficulties in the Dutch-War, did by his own royal Authority, as I ſuppoſe, diſpenſe with the Penalties of the Law, (as Kings formerly had done) then that he might preſerve Peace at home, and becauſe he underſtood that the Faction correſponded with his Enemies; to remedy this Evil, he thought it neceſſary to grant them Liberty of Conſcience for a While, and by ſtroking them, prevent their kicking. This being done, a great many of both Houſes of Parliament were ſo angry, when they ſaw a Law taken away without their Conſent, which was ordained by their Command, (as it ſeemed) that tho' they had enacted it, yet they had rather it ſhould be repealed, than to have any Part of it aboliſhed. Having this Opportunity, the *Preſbyterians* preſently, by the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, of whom they had a great many in both Houſes, required the Law to be repealed. The King's Letters, and every Thing elſe being paſſed which were neceſſary to the Eſtabliſhment of the Law, the Archbiſhop was of Opinion, that it was beſt to pleaſe all good Men by uſing Lenity and Clemency; nor would he diſſent from the Reſt, if by taking away that Law, they would only require ſuch a Covenant for their Fidelity, as no honeſt Man could or would refuſe, leſt by yielding too much, it might ſeem to leſſen his Power and Authority. And therefore he propoſed nothing more than that they ſhould acknowledge

ledge and confeſs that the War againſt King *Charles* the Firſt was not lawful. He had ſcarce ſpoke this, when they dropt the Queſtion for a new Law, and they were ſo very much terrified and frightened from their Intent, that, as if they had Nothing to truſt to for the Future, they never afterwards did dare to begin again. The Hopes and Power of committing Treaſon, and raiſing Rebellion being now taken away, the *Presbyterian* Affairs were brought into the deepeſt Deſpair. But when they perceived too late, that they had hitherto deluded themſelves by plain and open Policy, they ſecretly contrive to bring about by Fraud, what they could not effect by Power. For this Purpoſe, therefore, they enter into a new Conſpiracy with ſome trayterous Divines of the Church of *England*, Men who allowed nothing to be true therein but their Profits, in every other Reſpect they were meer Fanaticks. Having united all their Force and Power, they now cannot doubt to carry their Point; altho' this was the ſame with their former Conſpiracy, only cloaked and gloſſed over with a new Form of Words, that it may appear to be ſomething new to unwary and unthinking Men. For now they were pleaſed to call it a Law for *Comprehenſion*; by which, forſooth, the *Presbyterian* Traytors, by deſtroying the Law, which for their Will and Pleaſure, or rather by their Command, they required ſhould be taken away, may, together with the *Papiſts*, be received into the Church, and into the Benefits of the Church. There were one or two Biſhops, as it happened, a few Miniſters, and two Lawyers at this Conſpiracy, who, by their

Authority ordain, that ſuch a Law ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as if they had it in their Power to rule the Church and Kingdom. The Archbiſhop, than whom no Man was more vigilant, or readier to diſcover Frauds and Deceit, underſtood daily all the Deſigns of the Traytors, and I have often heard him openly and ſharply rebuke, by his own Authority, ſuch Preſumption, by which one or two Biſhops, and a few Miniſters ſhould, without their Metropolitan, and without a Convocation, offer to deſtroy the ſacred Laws of the Church: This certainly would have been ſuch a Wickedneſs and Schiſm in the Primitive Church, for which, nothing leſs than perpetual Deprivation could make an Atonement. But the Archbiſhop, who was of a gentle and generous Diſpoſition, did not threaten, but only friendly adviſed them to acquieſce a little, till they ſhould obtain, by Requeſt, his, and his Brethren the Biſhops Conſent, or at leaſt ſhould aſk it. In the mean Time he dealt gently with the principal Conſpirators, that, if poſſible, he might reſtore them to their Senſes. I remember I was preſent, when a certain Biſhop devoutly promiſed that he would deſiſt from having a Hand in the Matter; and yet, the very ſame Day on which the Aſſembly met to diſpatch the Buſineſs, I knew that he came out from thence, and had done all that lay in his Power to accompliſh it. But when the Archbiſhop had ſoon underſtood, that they had brought their Purpoſe to bear, he pretended, for a While, to every Body, a very few of his Domeſticks only excepted, that he knew nothing of the Conſpiracy. At length,

watching

watching an Opportunity, he called me and another to him, who was not a Biſhop, but next in Degree to a Biſhop, and as he was a facetious Man, taxed us both with having been among the Conſpirators. What could I do who was innocent, but modeſtly, as it was my Duty, and yet with ſome Aſſurance, deny it. The * other Fellow truly was not content with a ſingle lye, but like *Peter*, when he denied his Lord with an Oath, defended himſelf by frequently denying the Charge; and he ſaid, that he vehemently adviſed thoſe, who endeavoured to get him thither, to drop their very Decree, until the Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſhould ſit upon it. As ſoon as he went away, the Archbiſhop ſmiling upon me, aſked Pardon for the Rebuke which he ſeemed to have given me: I have ſeen, ſays he, too much of this Man's Treachery, but I cannot enough admire his Impudence or Stupidity; when, if he had not been a Blockhead, he muſt have perceived from a certain Form of Words, which I uſed, that all the Deſigns of the Aſſembly, at which he was always preſent, and had a great Share in it, were manifeſtly betrayed to me. And from that Time he diſcontinued all Friendſhip, as much as he could, with him and the other Conſpirators. But thoſe Fellows were the more diligent in accompliſhing the Purpoſe they had begun, and determined, when it was accompliſhed, to lay it before the Houſe of Commons. — In the mean Time, the Archbiſhop, to whom, as has been ſaid, all their Deſigns were laid open, had ſo diſpoſed the

* *Alter iſte.*

honeſt Members of that Houſe, to reſolve on the very firſt Day of their Sitting, that if the Matter were brought before them, to throw it out. And therefore that deadly Engliſh *Henoticon* was deſtroyed, which if it had not periſhed in the Birth, would have brought the ſame Evils and Plagues upon the *Engliſh* Church, as that other of *Zeno* did formerly upon the *Catholick* Church.

But as the Matter has required me to ſpeak of ſo great a Man, I cannot paſs him by, till I have, in a few Words, laid open his good natural Temper, the Firmneſs of his Courage, the Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition— Whoſe Hiſtory I have had a long time in my Mind to write; and truly I would have wrote it, if I could any way have got the Memoirs, which he left, of thoſe Things which were done in his Time. As he came early to be concerned in the Affairs of the Kingdom, being a Man of mature Wit, and was preſent when Things of the greateſt Moment were upon the Carpet; and as he greatly excelled in Strength and Fineneſs of Judgement; no doubt the Hiſtories he writ of all Affairs were very excellent. In the mean Time, ſince I may not write his Hiſtory, yet I cannot forbear publiſhing, as well a Deſcription of his great Soul, as that he was a Perſon of great Virtues, whom Poſterity ſhould imitate. And that I may begin with his excellent good Qualities, as a Prelate, he was a Man of maniſeſt Piety. But though he was often, and very aſſiduous at Prayers, yet he did not ſet ſo great a Value upon them, as others did; neither did he ſo much regard Worſhip, as he did the Uſe of Worſhip. He wiſely placed

the

the chief Point of Religion in Leading a good Life: In his daily Diſcourſe it was his Cuſtom to caution thoſe about him, not to deceive themſelves with an half Religion, nor to think that all the Form of divine Worſhip was reſtrained within the Walls and Rails of the Church: The chiefeſt Part was without Doors, and conſiſted in being converſant with Mankind. If Men led an upright, ſober, chaſte Life, then, and not till then, they may look upon themſelves to be religious: Otherwiſe, it would ſignify nothing what Rule of Religion wicked Men followed, or what Church they belonged to. Therefore, having ſpoke to this Effect, he was greatly pleaſed with, and, as it were, leaping for Joy, always had this Expreſſion in his Mouth, *Do well, and rejoice.* That this alone was, in his Opinion, the Duty, and, at the ſame Time, the Comfort of Life, and without it profited nothing. Therefore, next to Atheiſts and Fanaticks, he deſpiſed that diſdainful Sort of Men, who would place the Duty of Mankind in the Ceremonies of Worſhip and Religion; and becauſe, perhaps, they worſhiped God oftner than others did, they would therefore reckon themſelves better Men. He uſed to ſay, that theſe were not ſo religious as fooliſh, who had not Senſe enough to diſcern what was juſt and unjuſt, good and bad. For tho' our Prayers are very powerful and helpful, that we may obtain the Grace of God to aſſiſt us, and that the Honour due to God may be cheriſhed in our warm and lively Hearts; yet theſe will avail nothing, except we make a further Progreſs. The *Lord's Supper*, (in which our *Chriſtian* Worſhip

Worſhip is chiefly placed) is indeed the Sacrament of the *Chriſtian* Law. This Law is placed in the Duties of mutual Charity and good Will; he therefore is the beſt Chriſtian, that doth the moſt Good to Mankind. That the greateſt Charity is practiſed by Juſtice only; for we ought to have Charity for all Men, without which, no Fellowſhip can exiſt, and it is this which preſerves the Peace and Tranquillity of all the World. Other Vertues are but Hand-maids to this; Liberality and Almsgiving, if pulled away from this are nothing elſe than Theft and Rapine. And therefore his Advice to young Noblemen and Gentlemen (who by their Parents Commands flocked daily to him) was always this; let it be your principal Care to become an honeſt Man, and afterwards be as devout and religious as you will: No Piety will be any Advantage to you, or to any Body elſe, without you are an honeſt and moral Man; for God will not recompence honeſt Men if they are ſlothful and unprofitable: Neither can Men reap any Benefit from barren Piety. But if, in the Integrity of their Hearts, they reſolve to place the Foundation of Religion in leading a good Life, that will make them take great Delight in the Worſhip of God, and at the ſame Time, in diſcharging their Duties towards Men. If he could be troubled at any thing, it was this alone, that he could hardly bear with any Colour of Patience the counterfeited Religion of wicked Men; which was the Reproach of God and Men. But it grieved him exceedingly, that, during the whole Courſe of his long Life, he beheld the worſt Men placing the moſt

ſecret

ſecret Snares of Ambition, under a Mask of ſolitary Humility, and in counterfeiting the ſtricteſt Piety. Such Men, he ſaid, we ought to ſhun, as we would little Thieves. For he did not remember above three or four Men, and they were Men of fooliſh Simplicity, who under a Hood did not make a Theft and Robbery of Honour. Tho', in this Matter, he had ſome Comfort and Revenge, to ſee theſe very Men always ſtrip themſelves of their Honours by their Imprudence. But how much ill Will and Contempt ſoever he bore to theſe little Animals of ſmall Reputation, as well becauſe they had, by their Snares, robbed Religion of her Honour, as by their Petulancy they had exceedingly troubled and diſturbed the Temperance of Affairs; yet if he happened to meet with any Men of plain and ſound Piety, who in good earneſt had given themſelves up to the Worſhip of God, and to heavenly Meditation, it is ſcarce credible to think with what Affection, what Friendſhip, and indeed, with what Joy he imbraced ſuch Men: He reverenced them as Fathers, loved them as Brothers, and converſed with them as familiarly as if they had been his Friends. But when ſuch gentle Opinions of Religion were added to ſuch a very good Diſpoſition of Nature, how large a Crop of Virtues muſt ſuch excellent Seed produce, as if they were ſown in the moſt fertile Soil! Hence ſprung that even Tranquillity of Mind, by which, whether in a proſperous or adverſe Condition, he was ſtill like himſelf, and always the ſame; in Adverſity he was greater; in Proſperity better, and never deviated from himſelf; he huſbanded, but did not deſpiſe

Life;

Life; he neither feared nor wiſhed for Death, and lived pleaſantly to himſelf, and to other Men. Nor did he place any other Happineſs in this preſent Life, than that he could bear, and even enjoy it through Hopes of a better; becauſe it was pleaſant and acceptable with it, but intollerable without it, and ſo he died with the ſame Evenneſs of Mind with which he lived: Neither did he depart from his uſual Chearfulneſs, till his Soul departed from his Body.

From a Tranquillity of Mind, there does naturally ariſe a curteous Behaviour; for he who pleaſes himſelf, takes delight in pleaſing others, and does equally rejoice at his own and other Mens Felicity. His Converſation, therefore, was always gentle; he never ſent any Man away (if poſſible) diſcontented, except that his Unwillingneſs to leave him might occaſion it. Among his Domeſticks he was both pleaſant and grave, and governed his Family with Authority and Courteſy. We all reverenced him, no Man ſtood in Fear of him: When he had Occaſion to chide any Man, which he ſeldom did, and even then it was againſt his Will, his Words of Rebuke were made pleaſant with a gentle and *Socratick* Behaviour. He would always have his Houſe open for Hoſpitality, and his Table covered with the beſt of all Sorts of Meat, not for Luxury, but for Elegancy. Perſons of the beſt Rank and Faſhion flocked thither in great Numbers, to enjoy the Pleaſure of his Converſation; and ſeaſoned all his Entertainments with a Mixture of grave, witty, and pleaſant Diſcourſe, and ſpoke curteouſly and merrily to every Gueſt,

Gueſt, let his Station be what it would; and every one went away, bound in Duty to him for his ſingular Humanity. It is not proper to enlarge upon the ſmaller Points of *Decorum* in this great Man; for, though, perhaps, they are not to be commended among the Vertues, yet they are a Gracefulneſs peculiar to all great Men. Nor, indeed, do I think that I ought to give a more diligent Deſcription of his Vertues. How little, how barren, and how poor a Commendation would it be, to ſay of this Prelate, who was a Man of ſuch ſound and generous Piety, that he was juſt, temperate, and modeſt; eſpecially when theſe are not ſo much the Virtues of the Man, as the Duties of the Biſhop. For tho' it would be a very great Diſgrace for another Man to want them, yet in a Clergyman they ſcarce merit Commendation. Since, therefore, the greateſt Things only ought to be ſpoke of the greateſt Men, laying aſide the Reſt, we will fairly ſpeak of the Vertues only of his Greatneſs.

All Greatneſs of Mind conſiſts of theſe three Things, Wiſdom, Magnanimity, Munificence: *Charles* the Firſt, who was the beſt of Kings, ſet the greateſt Value upon his Wiſdom; to whom, as he was always acceptable in a few Things, by reaſon of his Integrity and Humanity, ſo on Account of his ſingular Prudence he had almoſt obtained the Familiarity of his Friendſhip. For he was pleaſed to employ him not only in publick Affairs and Embaſſies, as he did others, from the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, at which time he came into the publick Buſineſs; but he alſo admitted him into his more ſecret Councils, and the better he knew him,

the more abundantly he loved him. And when he himſelf had attained to the higheſt Maturity in Wiſdom, having been inſtructed therein by his great and long Troubles, he would chiefly make uſe of his Counſel and Converſation: If he had him by his Side, it ſeemed to him to take away the Sharpneſs of his Misfortunes; and in his loweſt and moſt deſperate Circumſtances, when after the Conference in the *Iſle of Wight*, the Rebel Officers had reſolved to murder him, all his Friends and Servants were driven from him, the King obtained, by his urgent Intreaties, that though the Reſt were driven away, that he might enjoy *Sheldon*'s Company alone for one Day; which Day they prolonged to Midnight, till he was taken away from the King by meer military Force. In which ſhort Space of Time he entruſted him with all his Secrets, and laſt Counſels, among which, he was chiefly charged with ſeveral Things which he was to communicate to his Son. Among his many other excellent Sayings, I remember three which I had from the Biſhop's Mouth.

Firſt, That he ſhould forgive his Rebel Subjects, as much as he could; but not to truſt one of them for the future, unleſs he had a Mind to be utterly undone by them. Secondly, That he ſhould keep as much Money in his Exchequer, as he could; for Subjects will not dare to rebel againſt any but poor Kings. Thirdly, That he ſhould make Atonement for the Sin of Sacriledge, and that he ſhould firſt ſhew himſelf an Example to his Subjects, by reſtoring again to the Church thoſe Revenues, which, by the Wickedneſs of former Times, had

had been taken from it; which was, what he had vowed to God to perform, if he ever came again to his Crown.

But as I have ſpoken of the great Love and Affection of the beſt of Kings to this Man, I need not ſay any Thing of his Magnanimity. He muſt needs be a Perſon of a ſtiff and invincible Courage, to ſee ſuch a Man, from whom he had received ſo many good Turns, to be treated with ſo much Indignity, and made a Laughing-Stock to the moſt abominable Part of Mankind, and not ſhrink into a Stone with Exceſs of Grief; but he bore the Weight, and by Length of Time, learned in ſome Manner to ſuſtain it. But he was naturally ſo chearful, that I have often heard him profeſs, that nothing ever touched *his Heart* (for thoſe were his Words, and he could then ſcarce refrain from Tears) but the Miſery of the King; but as it was Thunder ſtruck with that, he fell down, and did not, for a long time, recover his Conſtancy, but as long as he lived, was troubled with a raging Pain in his Mind, tho' he ſtrove all he could againſt it. Neither did he manifeſt himſelf to be a Man of leſs Courage and Bravery in encountring with Dangers, than in bearing his Misfortunes. For he was almoſt a Privy-Counſellor to King *Charles* the Second, during the Time of his being in Exile. He had the chief Management of all the King's Affairs, which were to be tranſacted at home: And he was preſent in almoſt every one of the wiſer Deſigns againſt the Uſurpers. But he was principally employed in making Collections, and ſent the King yearly ſuch large

Sums of Money, that he ſeemed to be his Majeſty's Treaſurer.

Laſtly, As to his Munificence, I ſhould be troubleſome if I related every ſingle Inſtance of that Virtue; let it ſuffice that I make a general Calculation of his Expences; and that I may paſs over what he did in a private Condition, in which, however, he redeemed the Family Eſtate, which the elder Brother had conſumed, for the Children of the Deceaſed: After that, he was advanced to the Epiſcopal Throne, on which he ſat ſeventeen Years, he laid out thirty three thouſand Pounds in Works of Munificence and Charity; and yet he managed his own Affairs with ſuch incredible Prudence, that, although he had laid out ſo very much, yet he left a large Eſtate, and a great deal of ready Money to his Heirs; and at the ſame Time, he gave and bequeathed to every one of his Servants, (who were not a few in Number) conſiderable Penſions for their Lives.

I have raiſed this little Monument to the ſacred Memory of ſo great a Man; and deſign to make it larger hereafter, and in ſome Meaſure more worthy his Greatneſs: In the mean Time I have diſcharged my Conſcience, by this grateful Teſtimony, although I intend to ſay much more of this moſt excellent Biſhop, in the Sequel of theſe Annals, (if it ſhall pleaſe God to permit me) for he lived to the Year 1677, at which time, being in the eightieth Year of his Age, he died, too ſoon to the Diſadvantage of the Church, and the whole Kingdom. But I ſhall take care to let Poſterity know, (if God will ſpare my Life) what Condition the Affairs of the Church have been

in

in from his Death, to theſe preſent Times. But now I muſt return to the Courſe of theſe Annals, from which the beautiful Remembrance of this moſt excellent Prelate diverted me, and from which truly I am unwilling to part.

While the States of the Kingdom were careful in preſerving the publick Peace, and imagined they had broke all the Meaſures, which the Rebels had taken, theſe Fellows, at the very ſame Time, (for ſuch was their Preſumption) had effected an univerſal Rebellion thro'-out the whole Kingdom. Almoſt about the ſame Time their great Aſſembly, of whom I formerly made mention, met at *London*, and which alone managed all their great Affairs. Under theſe a ſmaller Aſſembly acted, which conſiſted of ſix Men, that is one of every Faction: For there were ſix Factions, *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, and *Levellers*. And that the Matter might be the more ſecretly tranſacted, by the Conſent of them all, this Council *of ſix* received their Orders from the ſupreme Council; nor did any of the other Conſpirators know what this Aſſembly was. Laſtly, theſe ſent their military Officers where each of them was pleaſed to go. They had their Meſſengers and Spies in every County. They, in the mean Time, had their Cabals, ſometimes in one Place, and ſometimes in another, and never met thrice in the ſame: They would not impart their Counſels, or hold a Correſpondence with any Man, except with their own Emiſſaries. So, that though they had Accomplices of every Faction in the Conſpiracy, yet they would let no Body into the Secrets of their

De-

Deſigns: They warily guarded againſt being betrayed, and if by chance a Diſcovery ſhould be made, in any Place, it could reach no further; and when the Conſpiracy was blown about in every Part of the Kingdom, yet no Man knew who were the Contrivers of it: For the Spies treated ſeparately with the military Officers only, and had not any Knowledge of each other; ſo that if by chance one of them was taken, he could accuſe no Man out of that County which was given in Charge to him. Hence a great Report was ſpread thro'out the Kingdom concerning a Rebellion; and Letters relating to it, were ſent to the Secretaries of State, and to the King's other Prime Miniſters. It ſtruck the Citizens of *London* with ſuch a panick Fear, that the Train'd Bands, for almoſt the whole Summer, kept watch, and placed Centinels on the Walls, and at the Gates of the City. There was a general Conſternation, and every Man wondered from whence it could proceed. But at length, ſome of the Conſpirators being taken at *London*, it appeared on the 15th of *October*, what in reality the Conſpiracy had been: Nor could the very Perſons who made the Diſcovery, accuſe any but their Accomplices of the ſame Band, ſome of whom were taken, and ſome lay concealed. Among theſe were ſome who ſuffered as Rebels, and others, aſking Forgiveneſs, were, by the King's Clemency, pardoned as uſually. The Heads of the Conſpiracy were *Ludlow*, *Danvers*, *Lockier*, *Strange*, and other veteran *Cromwelian* Officers: But theſe eſcaped either by Flight or Concealment. But though the Conſpiracy was diſcovered, yet it was not broke or diſſolved

ſolved; but the Conſpirators gathering new Strength every Day, carried on a fierce and horrible War for more than twenty Years. But, as their Engine of Treachery was now brought to Perfection, I muſt tell you by what Fraud, what Villany, what Lies, they would, if poſſible, have accompliſhed their Deſign. And, indeed, they uſed but one Stratagem for every thing, which was, that old one, namely, that as often as any abominable Act entered into their Hearts, to poſſeſs the Peoples Minds with the Fear of *Popiſh* Aſſaſſins, who were every where immediately ready to cut the Throats of every Proteſtant. For thus their Story was laid. But when, at length, they had conſpired to riſe in Arms the laſt Day of *October*, under *Ludlow* their General, who had promiſed to be preſent, they ſpread a Report throughout the whole Kingdom, by fictitious Letters, in the following Words, that there was a *Popiſh* Maſſacre to be put in Execution that very Day.

SIR,

"IN Right of the Friendſhip between us, "and the common Affection I bear to all "Proteſtants in general, I muſt inform you, "that, about a Fortnight ago, a Woman well "known to us, but whoſe Name I muſt not "yet diſcover, was privatly told, by a cer-"tain *Popiſh* Conſpirator, that they ſhould "all take up Arms, of which they had great "Store, on the laſt Day of *October*. There-"fore, we thought our ſelves obliged to our "Friends, to give them Notice, with as much "Caution as may be, of the great Danger

"they

" they are in, that they may, by all poſſible
" Means, defend their Religion, their King,
" their Country, themſelves, and their Fami-
" lies. Take care, that you do not ſuſpect,
" that you are not impoſed upon by any Ar-
" tifice or Lye. I call God Almighty to wit-
" neſs the religious Truth of what I tell you.
" Neither is this the private Report of a few
" Men, for the Thing was diſcovered upon
" Oath, before a Juſtice of the Peace, and by
" him laid before the Privy Council. But
" what the Event of it was, I have not yet
" heard. Look to your ſelves, and if you
" make a further Diſcovery, impart it alſo
" to us.

Yours.

They ſent theſe Letters, by their Spies, to all their Friends in every County; ſo that the Papiſts in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially at *Worceſter* and *Warwick*, were taken into Cuſtody. They had five thouſand Copies ready to be deſperſed in every Street within the City of *London*, juſt before they began their Attempt. But when Part of the Conſpiracy was diſcovered before the Day, on which it was to have broke out, for a While it ſuppreſſed the Whole. A great many were taken; among whom the Chief were *Tonge*, an old Captain, and *Rigs*, a *Presbyterian* Teacher, who was formerly Chaplain to *Blake*, the Admiral of the Rebel's Fleet; but now Clerk to a Brewer. But he being taken, to ſave his own Life, laid open all the Villany, and, according to the innate Treachery of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, accuſed his Accomplices, whom

whom he himſelf had firſt corrupted. But the Proofs of the Conſpiracy were ſo very plain and manifeſt, that they, who were accuſed, though ſome of them, as it was reaſonable they ſhould, endeavoured to defend their Innocence; yet when they perceived they ſhould be condemned, pleaded guilty; and every one of them, juſt as they were upon the Point of Execution, ingenuouſly confeſſed in their Speeches, which they made to the People, that they were guilty of Rebellion. They were ſix in Number, *Tonge*, *Philips*, *Stubs*, *Baker*, and the two *Gibbs*, who were Brothers. But another of the Priſoners, whoſe Name was *Hind*, would not put himſelf upon his Tryal, when he was brought to the Bar; but pleading guilty, threw himſelf upon the King's Mercy. Among many other Villanies, which they had reſolved to commit, they firſt conſpired the King's Death; having unanimouſly agreed to uſe him no otherwiſe, than he would have uſed *Ludlow*, if he ſhould take him. Theſe were the very Words of the Conſpiracy. But it happened, that that very Summer the Queen-Mother reſided at *Greenwich*, and as the King went often to viſit her, they choſe a convenient Place near *Camberwell*, where the Aſſaſſins ſhould lie in Ambuſh and ſeize him: But as the Queen went unexpectedly to *London*, and much ſooner than ſhe had reſolved to go, ſhe thereby delivered her Son from their Ponyards. This was what the Conſpirators openly confeſſed. They declared the Cauſe of the War to be no other, than to fight, in Defence of their religious and civil Rights, againſt *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Thus they determined

mined to govern their new Commonwealth: Firſt, They would recall their *Rump* Regicide Parliament. Secondly, They would add to them a full Number of Members. Thirdly, No Man ſhould be choſen, who had not manifeſted himſelf to be faithful to the *good old Cauſe*, which was the Badge by which they diſtinguiſhed themſelves. Fourthly, That every Parliament ſhould continue but one Year. Fifthly, That they would exerciſe no Power in religious Affairs, or over Mens Conſciences. Sixthly, That it ſhould be High-Treaſon in every Man, who, by any Ways or Means whatſoever, ſhould endeavour to reſtore the King, the Houſe of Lords, or the Government of any ſingle Perſon. Seventhly, No Penſions ſhould be granted out of the Exchequer. Eightly, It ſhould be High-Treaſon not to obey them, as long as they behaved themſelves well.

Without doubt it would have been a long lived Commonwealth, which was to continue no longer than it pleaſed a *Fanatick* Multitude. There was ſuch an old Emulation between the two Factions, that they found it a hard Matter to knit together the divided Minds of the *Presbyterians* and *Anabaptiſts*, and to cement them with mutual Love: But when that was done, all the inferior Sects, which firſt naturally ſprang up from their Dregs, were always in Readineſs.

But now the Friendſhip of the Brethren being renewed, the Commonwealth ſeemed to be ſomewhat reſtored; and they did not doubt, after this, to obtain the ſupreme Power. I have collected theſe Things out of the Proceedings

ceedings of the Court, which at that time were alſo publiſhed Word for Word.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, the King being terrified by ſo many Conſpiracies, one upon the Neck of another, and being prevailed upon by the Tricks and Treachery of his Courtiers, publiſhed a Proclamation to ſuſpend, in part, the *Act of Uniformity*; and provided the Schiſmaticks would be peaceable for the future, he granted them Liberty of Conſcience, ſo long as they behaved themſelves well. This being immediately laid before the Parliament, that by their Permiſſion alſo, the *Indulgence* (as they called it,) to Conſciences truly ſcrupulous might be confirmed: They oppoſed it with great Zeal, and defended the Law as their *Palladium*. They fled unto the King, and begged, and implored him not to leſſen himſelf, and his own Authority, ſo much as to indulge ſeditious Men, who, under a Maſk of Conſcience, meditate nothing but Rebellion. For if the Force and Authority of that Law ſhould be taken away, there would not hereafter be any Fence againſt Atheiſts and wicked Men. The Diſcipline of the Church could not ſtand. Her Cenſures would be deſpiſed. Neither did it become the Wiſdom and Gravity of the Parliament, to repeal, without Cauſe, the ſame Law this Year, which they had made but the Year before. For then the King's Peace would be always leſſened; and if he would ſuffer himſelf to be overcome by theſe Mens Importunities, they would importune him for ever. New Hereſies would daily ariſe from diſhoneſt Liberty, and there would 1663.

never be an End of *Fanatick* Fury. The Church would be left deſolate: And laſtly, it was Empire, and not Indulgence, which the Schiſmaticks deſired: And as ſoon as ever they ſhould perceive their Numbers to be ſtrong enough, they would with open Force and Arms, invade the Commonwealth. The King yielded to their Importunity for a time, but never could be brought to recede from his Opinion, until he found, almoſt too late, by the Event of Things, and the inſolent Behaviour of the Schiſmaticks, that the Parliament was at that time as faithful Counſellors, as they were true Prophets.

The Parliament riſing on the 30th of *July*, after they had granted the King a Subſidy, the Factions begin to contrive their Rebellion. A thouſand Arms were brought over into *England*, which had been bought by one *Cole* in *Holland*, who had been in every Conſpiracy. Libels were diſperſed among the common People; and in one of theſe it was ſaid, that it was lawful for the People to cut off their Kings Heads: That the Law of God did not exempt the King's Perſon from the *two-edged Sword*, which he had put into the right Hands of his Saints, to be drawn againſt the Ungodly of what Quality or Condition ſoever. Now, if ever, was the Time, for the People of the Lord to ſell their Garments, and buy Swords with the Money. That whatſoever Authority the Tyrant has, (meaning the King) he received it from the People. That we are not the Servants of the Tyrant, but he ought to ſerve us. Therefore, as he behaved himſelf unworthy in his Office, it was lawful to dethrone

throne him. In another Book they affirmed, that *Charles* the Firſt was lawfully beheaded. That *Penry*, *Barrow*, and the Reſt of the *Puritan* Faction, formerly hanged, were wickedly put to Death; becauſe they had voluntarily, as their Duty required, given Teſtimony againſt the Tyranny and Superſtition of the Prelates. Laſtly, they produced the Example of *Ehud* killing King *Eglon*, to the Imitation of the Saints of this Age. But nothing ſtirred up the People ſo fiercely, as the Volumes of Sermons, which the ejected Miniſters preached, (and afterwards publiſhed) to their Congregations, as their *Farewel Sermons* before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*. Theſe Books, which ſmelt ſo ſtrong of Sedition, were ſold to their Party, and the People of every Pariſh, from whence any Miniſter was ejected, being inflamed with Rage and Hatred, purſued with Force and Arms thoſe who had turned them out, as he did of old, purſue thoſe, who took away his Idols from him. By theſe fraudulent Artifices, they poſſeſſed the Peoples Minds with ſuch implacable Averſion to the King's Government, that they took it for granted, they ſhould never want Voluntiers, when they took up Arms.

While theſe Things are tranſacted in *England*, the ſame were carried on in *Ireland*. On the 6th of *January*, 1662, one *Philip Alden*, voluntarily diſcovered to *Vernon*, who was one of the King's Officers, and a Man of entire Loyalty, a Conſpiracy to ſubvert the Government in all the three Kingdoms. This *Alden* had been an old Rebel, one who dealt in Proſcriptions, and forfeited Eſtates, and a chief

chief Enemy to the royal Cauſe. But *Vernon* had ſo much obliged him, by begging his Life of the Lord Lieutenant, that he promiſed, in Return for that Kindneſs, to diſcover to him every villanous Deſign of the Rebels againſt the King, which ſhould come to his Knowledge: For he had a very great Share in all their Councils, and *Ludlow* entruſted him chiefly with the *Iriſh* Affairs; ſo that no Man had more Authority among the Rebels. The Conſpiracy, therefore, being brought to ſome Maturity, he ingenuouſly diſcovered every Thing to *Vernon*: That there was a ſecret Committee who ſat daily in the City of *Dublin*; that they treated of all Matters among themſelves; that they liſted Men into their Conſpiracy; that they declared the Cauſes of the War; and aſſigned to every Officer his Poſt in the Army. Theſe were ſix in Number, beſides the Informer; *Shapcott*, a Colonel, partly a Soldier, and partly a Lawyer, one that did Mi chief with his Teeth as well as his Tongue; *Warren* and *Thomſon*, Lieutenant-Colonels; *Sanaford*, a Captain; *Blood*, a Lieutenant; and *Bond*, a *Scotch* Merchant. *Vernon* forthwith made a Diſcovery to the moſt illuſtrious Duke of *Ormond*, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, and to whom he was pretty dear. The Lord-Lieutenant ſent for the Informer, who laid open to him all the whole Matter, who being allured by Promiſes, aſſured him that he would diſcover every ſingle Step, which the Conſpirators ſhould take. The principal Leaders of the Army were choſen in the Month of *March*, and Troops were formed out of their Meetings, which they had now very frequent, with ſuch Men

Men as they had inliſted; and the Forces were furniſhed with all Neceſſaries in every Town and Country through all *Ireland*; and their Ambaſſies are ſucceſsfully carried on in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*. All Things being thus made ready to their Minds, the next Year, (which was 1663) they determined to open the War on the 11th Day of *May*, with the Siege of the Caſtle of *Dublin*. The Lord-Lieutenant, to whom every Thing was diſcloſed, took care to have a great Number of Forces in Readineſs, under the Command of his three Sons, who were Men of conſummate Bravery. They took their Poſts upon the Walls, not ſo much with a Deſign to drive off, as to take the Enemy. But *Blood* and one *Chambers*, whom the Conſpirators had ſent as Spies by Night, when they ſaw that every Place was ſo ſtrictly fenced and guarded, haſtened back in a very great Fright, to give Intelligence to the Committee that they were betrayed. They preſently diſperſed themſelves, not doubting the Diſcovery, in order to wait for another Day more convenient. But the Lord-Lieutenant had ſo placed Watchmen, that he took ſome of the principal Leaders within the Walls, who were afterwards tryed, condemned, and hanged for High-Treaſon. Among theſe were *Warren* and *Jephſon*, Colonels, and Members of the *Iriſh* Parliament at the ſame Time. Beſides theſe, there were nine others of the ſame Aſſembly, who being likewiſe found guilty of the ſame Crime, were, two Years afterwards, the Parliament having been prorogued to that time, baniſhed by Act of Parliament. *Thomſon*, who

was

was a Captain of the Guards; and *Lackey*, a *Presbyterian* Teacher, were hanged. And tho' he alone of all the Teachers was taken, yet there were ſeven of his Brethren beſides, who were his Accomplices and Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy. Their Names were *Cox*, *Chambers*, *Hart*, *Cormack*, *Bains*, *King*, and *Charnock*. This *Charnock* had been Chaplain to *Harry Cromwell*, advanced to that Dignity by *John Owen*. He was ſent by the Conſpirators as their Ambaſſador to *London*, and promiſed them great Aſſiſtance; as *Gibbs*, *Carr*, and others had done in *Scotland* and *Holland*. But the Conſpiracy being now diſcovered, he fled again into *England*; and changed his Name from *Charnock* to *Clark*: He was a Man of great Authority among the Fanaticks, and for a long time was at the Head of a great Aſſembly, and did not die till ten Years after, *Anno* 1683, and his Corps was carried through the City with the Pomp of almoſt a royal Funeral. They declared the Motives of the War, that the King had abuſed their Patience; that the Proteſtants, by whoſe Help alone he was reſtored to his Kingdoms, were neglected; that he favoured none but *Popiſh* Aſſaſſins; that the Mannors, which the Proteſtants (that is *Cromwell*'s Rebels) had meritoriouſly obtained, by ſuch great Toils and Dangers, he took from them, and gave to the *Papiſts*; that is, that he reſtored to the right Owners, who were Men of entire Fidelity, thoſe Eſtates, which *Cromwell* had given as Rewards to his Soldiers out of the Patrimony of Papiſts, who ſtood firm to the King's Party. That he converted a great Tax, which was raiſed to pay off the

the diſbanded Soldiers of the old Army, to the Benefit of the *Papiſts*. That the Lord-Lieutenant had committed the very ſame Offence; that he held ſecret Correſpondence with the *Papiſts*; and that he always took their Parts againſt the Proteſtants: Wherefore (ſay they) let us defend our Country, our Wives, and our Children from utter Deſtruction. And as the People of *Iſrael* laid violent Hands upon *Saul*, although he was a King, when he threatened to kill *Jonathan*, who was an innocent Man, called Almighty God to witneſs that he ſhould not die that Day; ſo we do not doubt but every true Proteſtant will take up Arms with us, in a Cauſe ſo righteous. We therefore declare, that every Man ſhall enjoy a Liberty of Conſcience, by which alone we are ſenſible that the Proteſtant Religion can be eſtabliſhed; that every one's Property, which he enjoyed before the King's Return, ſhall be reſtored to him; and we oblige our ſelves to give the Army their full Pay. To enable us to do theſe Things, we doubt not that the Lord of Hoſts, the Almighty God of *Jacob*, will ſtretch forth his right Hand.

The Witneſſes of this Conſpiracy, excluſive of the Informer, were *Sandford*, who was one of their ſecret Committee; *Tanner*, *Scott*, and *Fonkes*, who by Commiſſion were principal Leaders in their Army; and when they were ſeized, made the ſame Diſcovery, which the Informer had done before. But Sir *Theophilus Jones* was a more conſiderable Witneſs than all theſe. For when the Rebels had conſulted chiefly about three Things; firſt, whether they ſhould kill the King; ſecondly, the Duke of

Ormond; and laſtly, whether the Army ſhould be under the Command of a General, or a Council of War; having, by one *Cormac*, adviſed with the *Scotch Presbyterians*, they reſolved upon the two former, and were of Opinion, that the Army ſhould not be commanded by one Man alone, but by ſeveral. They choſe *Ludlow*, the Lord *Mazarene*, *Audly Mervin* Knight, *Richard Ingoldsby* Knight, *Edward Maſſey* Knight, *Henry Cromwell*, *John Skerington* Knight, Colonel *Carr*, and *Theophilus Jones* Knight. But he being nearer than any of the Reſt, and famous for his Courage and Policy, and a Man of Reputation among the Soldiers, they reſolve to try him firſt, which was done by *Jephſon*. He pretended to promiſe, that he would be ſecret and give his Aſſiſtance; when, in the mean Time, having an Averſion to his old Rebellion, he, like a loyal and good Subject, immediately diſcovered to the Lord-Lieutenant all the Secrets of the Conſpiracy, which *Jephſon* had communicated to him; and as they agreed ſo well with *Alden*'s Diſcovery, there was no Room left to diſcredit the whole Villany. But to ſet the better Face upon the Diſcovery, the Diſcoverer himſelf was impriſoned with the Reſt: And being ſent privately into *England* to the King, by the Lord-Lieutenant, it was pretended that he eſcaped out of Priſon, and, upon that Pretence, truly, he was outlawed.

The King embraced the Man, and commanded him to proceed, and take Part in all their Councils. He was preſent at every one of them, and did not conceal any Thing from the King. He held a cloſer Correſpondence by writing with

with *Ludlow*, and brought all his Letters to the King; and diſcovered whatever was done at home: So that the King had all the Conſpirators, as it were, ſhut up by a Siege, by which all their Deſigns came to nothing. This Work he perſormed with the greateſt Fidelity to the Year 1666, when he was taken, among others, who were ſuſpected to be in the Conſpiracy, by ſome Body that knew not the Buſineſs he was imployed in, and ſome Letters, directed to him from ſome of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Servants, were imprudently publiſhed, which occaſioned his Party to ſuſpect him: Whereupon he loſt all Correſpondence, and from that time laying down the Charge he had taken, retired to lead a private Life. Among the Conſpirators was *Thomas Walcott*, an old Captain, the ſame, who, twenty Years afterwards, (that is, 1683) was appointed the Chief of that deſperate Conſpiracy, in which they deſigned to murder the King, and the Duke of *York*, in the Road from *New-Market* to *London*. But the Villany being diſcovered, he was taken, condemned, and carried to the Gallows, where, with his Accomplices, he freely confeſſed the whole Matter. In his laſt Words, he, in a threatening Manner, adviſed the King to take Care of himſelf; for the Conſpiracy was ſpread ſo wide throughout the three Kingdoms, and laid ſo cloſe, that, if he had a Mind to be ſafe, he muſt make Peace with, and win the Friendſhip of the *Fanaticks*; otherwiſe, he and his deareſt Brother would certainly be ſlain, ſome time or other, by their Ponyards. In the ſame Year (that is 1663) the Flame of the Conſpiracy broke out larger

in *England*; which, if it had not been perceived and extinguiſhed in time, would have ſpread ſuddenly over the whole Kingdom. For, if Part of the Conſpiracy had not broke out into War in the northern Counties before the appointed Time, no doubt, but the whole Conſpiracy would have ſuddenly burſt out in a Blaze at once. For the Aſſembly at *London* had pitched upon the 12th Day of *October*, on which Day they ſhould all be ready, and ſtand to their Arms at one Hour; but when they could not get all Things ready enough at *London* at the Time appointed, (as it often happens) they delayed the Matter twelve Days longer. But the North-country Men could not reſtrain their Zeal ſo long; for ſome of them appeared in Arms, on the Day appointed, in *Farly* Grove, near the Town of *Leeds*, rich in woollen Manufacture, in the Weſt-riding in *Yorkſhire*. Theſe being quickly ſubdued and taken, diſcovered the whole Conſpiracy; though the King had the Conſpirators, as it were, beſieged and taken before, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. The Ringleader of the Conſpirators was *Thomas Otes*, a Captain. The Chief of the Witneſſes, who diſcloſed the Names of their Accomplices, were his two Sons, *Ralph Otes*, Maſter of Arts, and his younger Brother *Samuel*, a Name that abounded truly with Rebels and Informers. Theſe Men would have given Evidence upon Oath againſt their own Father, if the Judges had not forbid it. Although the Thing was ſo evident without Witneſſes, that *Otes*, the Father, would not venture to put himſelf upon his Tryal, but, confeſſing his Villany, implored the King's Mercy. The

Libel,

Libel, I am afraid, in which they declared the Cauſe of the War, has by chance been loſt; but it was made up of theſe ſeveral Articles, as appears by the Teſtimony of ſeveral Witneſſes, by which all Parties of the Schiſmaticks might the readier be drawn into the Cauſe. The firſt, which was on the Part and Behalf of the *Presbyterians*, was for reſtoring the Authority of the old Rebel Parliament; another was for reſtoring the ejected Miniſters; and then to ſooth all of them: Liberty of Conſcience was to be allowed to every Man: Tythes and Taxes were to be taken off: Laſtly, the full and lawful Liberties of their Country, which had been violated by the long Tyranny of Kings, ſhould be renewed by Force and Arms. And, to ſay all in one Word, the Fanaticks were for different Reaſons, and yet with one Conſent, to wage War againſt the preſent State of Affairs under Kingly Government.

And therefore the principal Contrivers of this Conſpiracy were ſome *Presbyterians*, who were ejected on that unlucky Day of St. *Bartholemew*. The Chief were *Richardſon*, a Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of *Rippon*, a Man infamous to the laſt Degree, for Drunkenneſs, Leudneſs, and all Manner of Debauchery: *Marſden*, formerly Chaplain to *Overton*, an *Anabaptiſt* Colonel, and Governour of *Hull*. *Richardſon* had the Management of all Affairs in the Country; *Marſden* was, for the moſt Part, their Agent with the Aſſembly at *London*, that he might report their Commands to the inferior Councils in the Country, which they declared ſolemnly at their Meetings.

Both

Both of them, when the Conſpiracy was revealed, were baniſhed: *Richardſon* died in Exile; *Marſden* changed his Name to *Ralphſon*, and lived twenty Years ſecure in *London*, and was the Head of a great Aſſembly; nor did he die till the Year eighty three. Theſe were encreaſed by other Schiſmaticks of the ſame Stamp in other Places. *Fiſher*, late of *Sheffield*, a Town famous for hard Ware, promiſed great Numbers of his Workmen; and *Hermitage*, who was ejected out of *Holbec*, promiſed the ſame. *Sledd*, a *Scotch* Miniſter, who had been ejected out of his Pariſh in *Devonſhire*, executed the Office of Agent, and Newscarrier, between the *Engliſh* Fanaticks and his own Country Men.

But the moſt active and diligent of them all in this Affair, was one *Atkinſon*, a travelling Pedlar, who, in his little Shop of Trinkets which hung at his Back, carried Letters through all Parts of the Kingdom with incredible Diſpatch. Beſides, they had their Colonels on every Side in the next Counties of *Nottingham*, Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and *Lancaſhire*, ready at a Moments warning to be at the Head of their Soldiers, as if they had been hid in their proper Stations. But they were chiefly deceived by thoſe, in whom they had placed their chief Truſt, and chief Hopes. *Smithſon*, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel to *Lilburn*; and *Greathead*, Lieutenant-Colonel to *Lambert*, were appointed Generals, the one of the *North*, and the other of the *Weſt*-riding of *Yorkſhire*. But theſe truly voluntarily diſcovered the whole Matter to the Governour of *York*. By which Diſcovery they loſt all Opportunity

portunity of Meeting; ſo that when *Otes* had hid a few of his Men, by Night, in a Wood, they had ſcarce parted from one another, by the Break of Day, when many of them were taken from their March, and put into Priſon. This was the happy End of ſuch a dangerous Conſpiracy. But the King was Maſter of all their Deſigns; for in his Speech, which he made to the Parliament, the next Year, on the twenty firſt Day of *May*, he thus ſpake to both Houſes.

" You find by the late northern War, that " our old Enemies, to whom we have ſhewed " ſo much Mercy, ſtill retain their old Ha- " tred. But you have not yet ſearched into " the Bottom of that Villany. The leaſt Part " of the Conſpiracy, believe me, is not yet " found out, which is the Offspring of that " old one, which I diſcovered to you two Years " ago, which encreaſes, and is ſpread daily " in all Parts. But I know all their Deſigns; " and truly, if I had not been well acquaint- " ed with the very Hour, and the different " Places of their Rendevouze in the North; " and if I had not taken them up, not only " with the Militia, but alſo with my own " Guards, they would truly, in great Num- " bers, have broke into open War.

" Do not think that it is ſuppreſſed by the " Puniſhment of a few; for at the very ſame " Moment that they ſee their Accomplices car- " ried to the Gallows; yet then, and there, " they proceed to perpetrate their deteſtable " Deeds. I very well know that they keep " a Correſpondence with the moſt miſchievous " and deſperate Men in every County; and

" there

" there is a great Aſſembly in this City, by " whoſe Advice every Thing is tranſacted in " the Country, and by their Command they " happily delayed their laſt Conſpiracy; for " when, by their Imprudence, it was broke " and divided, it then quickly miſcarried. " I am better acquainted with all the De- " ſigns, than they, with all their Cunning, do " imagine; and, I hope, I ſhall ſoon diſcover " to you all their Villany. In the mean Time, " let us all be more diligent and watchful " for the Preſervation of the Commonweal, " than they are for its Deſtruction."

Hence it appears, by the King's own Teſtimony, who clearly perceived all their Deſigns, what was the State and Condition of Affairs at that time. That they had not, or ever would be at Peace with him; that they had brought on a mortal War, which was not to be ended, but by the total Deſtruction of one or other, or perhaps (as it often happens) of both. For at the ſame Time, that theſe Things were done in the *North*, they ſtirred up the People to Rebellion by infamous Libels. For as the 12th of *October* was the Day appointed for taking Arms, ſome little Papers were ſeized at the Preſs four Days before, wet, and almoſt worked off. In theſe they extolled the horrid Murder of King *Charles* the Firſt. They ſaid, that a Deed ſo glorious, and ſo pious had not been done ſince the Times of the Apoſtles. That the holy Martyrs themſelves, quitting Heaven, would willingly ſuffer again for a Cauſe ſo very good. That no pious Man upon Earth would refuſe it. That they who did not come to their Aſſiſtance, would

go

go to the Devil headlong. That the City, County, or Town, which did not join in this Revolt, would periſh by divine Vengeance; and ſuch like. Four Printers were taken, and one of them, whoſe Name was *Twiny* was hanged: The three others were impriſoned, and two of them died in a very ſhort time with Grief and Anguiſh of Mind. Their Funerals were attended (according to Cuſtom) with a Train of at leaſt three thouſand People.

In the Beginning of the next Year, which was 1664, a War againſt the Dutch was begun on the 24th of *April*, by the unanimous Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. For, whereas, they had every where in the moſt contemptuous Manner, by their daily Abuſes and Piracies, ſpoiled the *Engliſh* Merchants, they added the Summer before to thoſe private Abuſes, publick, and perhaps to that Day unheard-of Treachery. For when the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, at the Requeſt of the latter, ſent their confederate Fleets againſt the *Algerine* Rovers; while *Lawſon*, Admiral of the King's Fleet, with equal Loyalty and Courage, purſued the Enemy; *Ruyter*, who was Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, by Command of the *States General*, ſheer'd off by Stealth to the Coaſts of *Guinea*, and, without declaring War, invaded with Force and Arms the *Engliſh*, who were ſcattered up and down that Country. This Villany kindled ſuch Paſſion and Indignation in the Hearts of the *Engliſh*, that they never before were ſo vehemently unanimous, as they now were to revenge this Treachery. However, a Year was ſpent in making Preparations for War, and in 1664. 1665.

demanding a full Peace, if it could poſſibly be done. But when the King's Ambaſſadors were treated with Reproach and Contempt, in the Beginning of the next Spring, on the 20th Day of *May*, the King's Fleet ſailed out of Port for the War; the Event of which we ſhall ſhew in the next Year's Affairs. In the mean Time, when the Schiſmaticks perceived the King to be embarraſſed with ſo great a Weight of War, they liſted themſelves up with more than uſual Boldneſs. The King and Parliament on the other Hand, having experienced the Boldneſs, and wicked Diſpoſition of the Faction, reſolved to clip their Inſolence by ſtricter Laws, leſt being engaged in a foreign War, they ſhould be perplexed with domeſtick Inſurrections. For the Parliament had ſcarce come to a Reſolution againſt the *Dutch*, but immediately Complaints were daily laid before them from every Part of the Kingdom, concerning the untractable and tumultuous Aſſemblies of the Fanaticks. Hereupon the old Law of Queen *Elizabeth*, made in the 35th Year of her Reign, againſt the Aſſemblies of Fanaticks, was renewed and enlarged.

For the firſt Offence the Schiſmaticks were fined five Pounds; for the ſecond, ten Pounds; for the third they were to ſuffer Baniſhment; and if they returned without Leave, they were to be put to Death. Afterwards, all *Cromwell's* Officers were by Proclamation ordered to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*. The Juſtices of Peace and Deputy-Lieutenants of the Counties, encouraged by the King's and Parliament's Example, diſperſed their Meetings in all Towns and Cities. When the Schiſmaticks

maticks ſaw that this was done in earneſt, they quickly obeyed. The *Quakers* only were obſtinate; for they ſcarce accounted any Act ſo religious as to reſiſt human Authority. Therefore they met the oftner becauſe they were forbid, nor could they, by any Force, be drawn away from one another, till a merry Fellow hit upon this Stratagem. He proclaimed, in the King's Name, that it ſhould not be lawful for any one to depart without his Leave; and he had ſcarce done this, when they all went away, that it may not be ſaid, that they obeyed any Man. And yet theſe Fellows did not continue obſtinate very long; for when they found that their Friends were taken daily, and tranſported, as Exiles, to the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, and that they could not return to their own Country, without hazarding their Lives, being ſore afraid, they began to take off the *outward Man*, as theſe Enthuſiaſts call it: So that the Opportunity of meeting together being taken away from the Sectaries, through all the Kingdom, they remained very quiet that Year, and no Tumult enſued. At the ſame Time the like was proclaimed and done in *Scotland*. And whereas they had then tranſlated *Buchanan*'s Book, entitled, the *Right of the Kingdom of Scotland*, into their own Language, that they might thereby, in a more plentiful Manner, bewitch the Peoples Minds by drawing them from their Loyalty and Obedience; the Reading that Book was prohibited by a threatening Proclamation iſſued by the King's Council. This is what was done, by Act of Parliament, in the Year 1584, againſt the Latin Book. But no ſooner had

one Plague ceaſed, when another began to ſpread, which raged almoſt throughout the whole Kingdom, and made the greateſt Havock that ever had been known in the Memory of Man, ſweeping away two hundred thouſand Men. This occaſioned the Parliament to be prorogued to the next Year, nor were they ſummoned to meet till the Month of *October*, at *Oxford*, the Neceſſity of Affairs then requiring them to ſit.

Although a Plague uſually occaſions a Reſpite from War, yet now there was no Ceſſation of Arms. For the Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*, fitted out, with incredible Expedition, the compleateſt Fleet, that ever ſailed from an *Engliſh* Port. And in the Beginning of Spring, having a ſtrong Deſire to come to an Engagement, that he might encreaſe his Glory, beſieged the *Dutch* Coaſts near two Months. Nor did our Fleet ſee the Enemy's till the firſt Day of *July*, and they came to an Engagement on the Fifth. *Opdam*, who commanded their Fleet, was trained up in Sea Wars; he was of noble Birth, and a gallant Man, and had the greateſt Experience in maritime Affairs.

But the Duke of *York*, (tho' he was the moſt conſummate General at that time by Land.) had ſcarce ever ſeen a Sea Engagement before. Yet with how great a Deſtruction of Men and Ships did this young Seaman overthrow the old Admiral! *Opdam* himſelf, with four Sea Captains, eight thouſand Men, and eighteen Ships, Half of which were firſt Rates, periſhed in one Day's Fight. The Reſt fled; and perhaps not ſo much as a Fiſhing-boat had eſcaped,

if

if Night, or rather Treachery, had not intervened between the Battle and Victory. But the Number of Priſoners was ſo great, that a new Fleet of Sailors and Soldiers ſeemed to return into Port. For ſuch was always the Duke's Clemency in War, that he choſe to ſpare the Blood of his Enemies, as much as he could, as though they had been his own Countrymen. Therefore he ſent out his light Fregates to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, who were in great Danger at Sea; ſo that the *Engliſh* Fleet, as if it were doubled, returned ſafe into Port, as has been ſaid before, with the Loſs only of one ſmall Ship.

While the whole Nation laboured under the heavy Calamities of Peſtilence, and War at the ſame Time, the Schiſmaticks on the other Hand put themſelves in Hopes of Liberty; nor do they ever think themſelves happy, but in the Diſtreſs of their Country. Therefore, while the Minds of all good Men were employed about other Affairs, they alſo endeavour, with their utmoſt Efforts, to reſtore their own, being ſollicitous, and watching every Change of Fortune. If the King's Fleet had been beaten, they would preſently have conſented to open War: But as it vanquiſhed the Enemy's, their Conſpiracy was delayed to another time. Nor did they conſpire againſt their Country at home only, but abroad alſo, and with the Enemy. For at that very Juncture another Aſſembly of Rebels ſat in *Holland*, who joined their Councils with the very *States* themſelves, though there was a meer *Carthaginian* War with them to that Time. Many Volunteers entered themſelves on Board

the

the Enemies Fleet, being moved thereto by the Love of Rebellion, and Hatred of their Country. And ſome of theſe were judged to have merited the greateſt Power in the Republick.

But the Schiſmatical Preachers were the moſt ſeditious of all, who having been ſuppreſſed the Year before, and now at Liberty, by the Kingdom's being concerned in other Affairs, rage every where with the ſharper Fury. The People being again aſſembled in their Conventicles, they preach nothing elſe to them but Perſecution and Tyranny: That this, perhaps, was the Time to renew their Liberty; and, that in all probability they might not have another, if the War ſhould be proſperouſly concluded. Laſtly, *Cromwell*'s Officers were ſo far from deſpairing of better Succeſs, though they had been greatly diſmayed by ſo many and ſo great Misfortunes of their Accomplices, that being rather more fiercely provoked, and made more outragious, they would now at length put it to the laſt Tryal. This gave Birth to a new Conſpiracy, which, however, was prevented by the great Care and Vigilance of the Duke of *Albemarle*, before it could break out into open Force. They aſſembled together at *London* in great Numbers from every Part; where they thought they could more eaſily conceal themſelves, by the Largeneſs of the City, and by one general Aſſault from all Sides, ſurprize the Enemy before they could take up their Arms. But that they might the better accompliſh the Matter, they reſolved to burn the City of *London*. This they would have done on the ſecond of *September*,

tember, on the very ſame Day truly, and in the ſame Manner, as indeed it was burned the Year following. And they were perſuaded to this, not only by the Prediction of one *Lilly*, a *cunning Man*, but by the Aſpect of the Stars; when, at that very time, they ſaid, a Planet would rule, which denoted the everlaſting Deſtruction of Monarchy. But the Conſpiracy being ſeaſonably diſcovered, the chief Leaders were taken and hanged; *Rathbone*, *Sanders*, *Tucker*, *Flint*, *Evans*, *Miles*, *Weſtcot*, and *Cole*. The Reſt of the Conſpirators eſcaped. There was one Man, whoſe Sir-name was *Alexander*, an old Soldier in *Cromwell*'s Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel in *Cromwell*'s own Regiment, and is ſtill alive, who was the Ringleader of this Conſpiracy. This Man paid the Rebels all their Subſiſtance-Money, he aſſigned them their Poſts through the City, and had the chief Management of the War. However, when this Man, with the Reſt of his Companions, repented of their Offence, or rather Misfortune, becauſe all their Endeavours were laughed at; then afterwards, that they might be quiet, the King granted them a Pardon for all their Crimes. Having obtained this, he did not ſcruple to give a Detaile of the whole Matter to his Friends in private Converſation, and over a Bottle. From whom I received this, and much more, agreeable to the Records of the Court. I knew thoſe, to whom he merrily ſhewed in the Room, in which the States of the Commonwealth (for by that Name he called the Aſſembly of the Rebels,) had their Seſſions, and from whom he received Inſtructions to be ſent to the Conſpirators abroad.

Nor

Nor that only, for there was another Aſſembly in *Holland*, and they both correſponded with one another, and with the States alſo; nor were they to conclude on any Thing againſt their Country, but by the common Advice of them all.

This was the very ſame *Alexander*, who, though he had always behaved himſelf gallantly in *Cromwell*'s Rebellion, and never feared any Danger in the ſeveral Conſpiracies againſt the King; yet afterwards in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, where he was a Colonel of Horſe, he was ſtruck, as it were, with a pannick Fear, and could not bear the very Sight of the Enemy, or go to Battle, but was one of the firſt that fled, if any of them may be ſaid to turn their Backs before the Reſt. Whether his Courage failed him through a Conſciouſneſs of his Crimes, or whether his Heart ſuddenly fainted, (as is ſometimes reported of brave Men) or whether old Age had rendered him impotent, (whatever it was) ſuch abject Cowardice in a Man ſo ſtout and gallant, was the Wonder of all thoſe who were preſent at the Action. But as he was one of the firſt that fled, ſo he eſcaped from Danger; and being now attainted for High Treaſon, he either lies hid at home, or lives in Exile abroad. Such is the innate Fierceneſs of theſe Men to Rebellion, that no Kindneſs can root it out, or old Age bring it into diſuſe; but tho' their Bodies have not Strength enough to accompliſh their Villanies, yet their Spirits have Vigour enough to attempt them. But the Madneſs of *Alexander* was not ſingular, it was common to all the Horſe-Men. For theſe ſetting upon the Enemy ſuddenly,

in

in the Dead of Night, as ſoon as the firſt Gun was diſcharged from the King's Forces, betook themſelves to Flight, as one Man. So that they were equally ignorant whether there had been any Fight at all, nor did any one of them know what his Companions, or he himſelf did. Nor could the Officers and Soldiers, who were taken, make any other Anſwer to the King, which he aſked them on the Field of Battle, which Way, or how near they came to the Enemy, in what Place the Battle began, how long it continued, from whence they began to fly; and laſtly, whither they went after their Flight: Than, that finding they had fallen in with the Enemy, but where they knew not, all their Cavalry was broke, as if it had been by common Conſent. Then ſtraggling in the Dark, as ſoon as Day-light appeared, they ſlipt into their neareſt ſtrong Holds, and News being brought of the entire Victory of their Companions, (for they ſtood to it for ſome time) every one provided for his own Safety, juſt as Fortune was pleaſed to order it. This was the Conduct of that Duke, who had performed the Part of a great General, who had tryed all the Dangers of War, who, with a preſumptuous, and perhaps before that time unheard-of Raſhneſs, had taken *Maeſtrick*, who in the bloody Battle of *Mons* diſtinguiſhed himſelf with the greateſt Bravery; this, I ſay, was the fooliſh Conduct of that great General. But to return to the Courſe of the Annals.

The Parliament being provoked with the frequent Routs of the Rebels, reſolved by one Law to root out all thoſe Evils. By this all the Preachers were baniſhed five Miles from

every City, Town, and from the very Pariſh from which they had been ejected, except they would take this Oath: That it was unlawful to take up Arms againſt the King, upon any Pretence whatſoever; that from their Conſcience they abhorred that damnable Poſition, that it was lawful to riſe up in War againſt him by his Authority, or againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by him; laſtly, that they would not endeavour to make any Innovation in the Commonweal, or in the Church: Unleſs they would do this, they were to be fined forty Pounds, and if they did not pay the Money, to ſuffer Impriſonment for ſix Months, and were to undergo the ſame Puniſhment as often as they ſhould offend. A few took the Oath. Many were compelled to go into the Country, where, when they ſaw there were not Abundance of Men, nor an Opportunity of ſkulking, they lived, for the moſt Part, very quiet. Nor, indeed, were the Schiſmaticks ever ſo much diſpirited by any Law, as by this. The domeſtick Enemy therefore being ſecured by this Law, they brought the foreign One to Subjection, by paſſing another Law. All the Subjects of *England*, who had fled abroad, and reſided in the United Provinces, were commanded, by Act of Parliament, to return into their own Country, in three Months time, upon pain of being guilty of High-Treaſon. Among theſe, *Dolman*, *Bamfield*, and *Scot*, the Son of the Parricide *Scot*, were ſummoned nominally; Fellows that deſerved to be proſcribed for ever. And preſently, by the King's Proclamation, *John Desborow*, *Thomas Kelſy*, and many others of *Cromwell*'s Officers, with the

the Reſt of the Rebels, were called home under the ſame Penalties. They who came, had Permiſſion, as a Reward of their Obedience, to live ſafe in their own Country; they who refuſed, were puniſhed with perpetual Baniſhment.

In the Year following, a new War was begun; or the old one rather renewed, the *French* and *Dutch* having entered into an Alliance againſt *England*. On the 1ſt of *July* the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailed out of Port. Soon after Intelligence was brought to the Privy-Council, either by the Artifice of the Enemy, or the Treachery of ſome Body elſe, that the *French* Fleet were near at hand; but that the *Dutch* would ſcarce be ready to put to Sea in a Fortnight. That the Enemies therefore might be deſtroyed, before they could join their Fleets, *Rupert* Prince *Palatine*, who had equal Power and Authority, with the Duke of *Albemarle*, over the King's Fleet, was commanded to meet the *French*. When he had ſailed with half the Fleet againſt the Enemy, who were not come out of Port, the *Dutch* on a ſudden, as it were by Surprize, ſet upon the other Squadron of the Fleet with a double Number of Ships. *Albemarle*, unacquainted with Fear, and not accuſtomed to Flight, and at the ſame Time having the Enemy in great Contempt, for he had long and often tryed the Courage of the *Dutch*, chearfully bore up to give them Battle. The Engagement laſted three Days with incredible Fierceneſs; while the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet lay immoveable, having loſt their Maſts and their Yards, and engaged 1665.

the Enemy, as if it had been a Land-Fight. In which Juncture, *Rupert*, whom the Noiſe of the Cannon had reached afar off, came ſeaſonably with full Sails to the Relief of his Friends. And now, immediately, a fierce Engagement began with the Enemy, who were in great doubt what to do. And the *Engliſh* fought with ſuch Ardour, being inflamed, as well with Anger as Revenge, that they had almoſt overcome the *Dutch*, who were amazed at their uncommon Method of Fighting. For they did not ſuffer them (as is uſual) to fire their Cannon at a diſtance, but breaking into their Centre, poured in their Broad-ſides upon them from every Quarter. But at length, in the Evening, *Rupert*'s Maſt being broke, the Battle ceaſed. In the mean Time the *Dutch*, being Thunder-ſtruck at this inſupportable Onſet, adviſedly ſheered off. But becauſe they once got off without being intirely deſtroyed, they ſpread great Reports throughout all *Europe* of ſo great a Victory over the *Engliſh*, as if one little Veſſel had not been loſt; and to confirm this they ſtampt ſeveral Medals. But yet, when they came to another Engagement in the Month of *Auguſt*, they hardly made a Stand for four Hours. For, four Vice-Admirals, and ſix Captains being killed in ſo ſhort a time, and two Vice-Admiral Ships being deſtroyed, overcome with ſuch great Power, they bore away on every Side. *Tromp* only, with his Squadron, engaged another of the *Engliſh*, with his uſual Bravery and Courage, till the Evening: But being forſaken by his Countrymen, privately ſheered off by Night. The *Engliſh* now blocked up their Ports, and their Coaſts,

Coaſts, challenging them, in vain, to an Engagement. But at laſt, before they ſailed away, a little Veſſel, called, by way of Jeſt, the *Faufan*, that is, the *Trifle*, having two ſmall Guns on Board, being ſent into the Harbour, attacked Admiral *Ruyter*'s Ship, and fired often at him; but at length, having ſuffered a little by two ſmall Balls, ſhe returned to her own Fleet, the Spectators laughing heartily on one Side, and freting on the other, at the Contempt put upon ſo proud a Nation. This was the Concluſion of that Affair. But when the Conſpiracy had been univerſal, the *Scotch*, not daunted by the Deſtruction of their Allies, would not go back from the Confederacy which they had undertaken to defend. Thoſe little preaching Fellows, who were puniſhed the Year before by the ſame Law, as the *Engliſh* Schiſmaticks were, broke out among the Chief of the others with equal Fury. For the *Engliſh* were baniſhed only five Miles from any Town or City, but theſe were baniſhed twenty Miles from their own Pariſhes, ſix from a City, and three from a Town; nor were two of them ſuffered to ſettle in the ſame Village. Being therefore provoked at the great Affront, offered to the *Saints of God*, they ſtirred up the People with unwearied Pains to fight the Battles of the *Great Jehovah*.

But all their Deſigns, as well as thoſe of the Reſt of their Conſpiracy, were laid before the King. He therefore watched all the Steps of the Rebels, that they might not move a Foot further than he pleaſed. At length, when he perceived that the Affair would come to Arms, he haſtened to reſtrain them by Force. There were

were two Officers, who had got great Reputation in War, *Deyell* and *Drummond*, who, in the Heat of Rebellion againſt *Charles* the Firſt, having ſtood with inviolable Fidelity on the King's Side, and being driven out of their Country in *Cromwell*'s Time, fled to *White Ruſſia*, now called *Muſcovy*; where, by their gallant Behaviour, having merited their Pay, they proved themſelves, in a ſhort time, to be ſo famous for their Conduct, that to them was given the Command of all the Forces of the Kingdom. *Deyell* had the firſt Place of Command, and *Drummond* the ſecond. In which high Authority they lived many Years, to their own, as well as to their Country's Glory. At length, *Charles* the Second, this very Year, by the Letters which he ſent to the *Czar*, required that they might have Leave to return to their own Country. The *Czar*, though he was unwilling to part with Men who were ſo ſerviceable, and in ſuch Authority, yet becauſe he was obliged to do it by the common Law of Nations, diſmiſſed them with the greateſt Honour and Liberality. Being arrived at *London*, and received with that Favour which they deſerved, they were preſently ſent into *Scotland*, that they might have the ſame Command over all the Forces of that Kingdom, which they had in *Muſcovy*; where they formed two Brigades of old Soldiers, the one of Foot, commanded by *Deyell*, and the other of Horſe, under the Command of *Drummond*. Arriving in *Scotland* in the Month of *Auguſt*, they diſpatched Matters with ſuch Care and Vigilance, that they had got an Army ready, diſciplined, and fit for Battle, before the firſt Day of *November*.

The

The Fanaticks were a little ſhocked, but not frightened at theſe Forces; although the Conſpiracy broke forth into open War a little ſooner than they themſelves had reſolved upon. There was one Man famous in Peace and War, Sir *James Turner* Knight, and Colonel of Foot; of a pleaſant Wit, and lively Eloquence, and a bitter Enemy to the Fanatick Tribe. Beſides, he had been ſent ſome Years before, by Command of the King's Council, to ſuppreſs the Faction. For, whereas the Earl of *Middleton*, the firſt Lord High Commiſſioner after the King's Return, had, in the Year 1662, commanded all the Miniſters to obey the Biſhops, or elſe to reſign their Pariſhes; moſt of them hid themſelves in the *Weſtern* Parts. *Turner* was firſt ſent, by the King's Cabinet Council, to quell theſe Men, who roſe every Day in Tumults. He, in the Beginning, (that is, of the Year 1663) treated the Fanaticks merrily; and without inflicting any Pain or Forfeit, won many of them by the Sweetneſs of his Behaviour. Next Year, he being called away to *Glaſgow*, the People returned to their Conventicles; but coming back the Year following, he reſtrained them from open Rage for ſome time, partly by his Authority, and partly by Admonition. But when he was called away a ſecond Time, their Meetings were haunted more than uſual. In the Year, therefore, 1666, when, by Command of the Council, he exerciſed a ſtricter Authority over them, eſpecially in demanding their Fines, on a ſudden near two hundred armed Men ſet upon him in his Winter-Quarters, at *Dunfrize*, on the 18th Day of *November*, as he lay ſick in his Bed,

and

and his Soldiers quartered up and down in the next Villages; and taking from him a great Quantity of Money, which he had ready to pay the Soldiers, carried him away Priſoner. The next Day the Leader of this Rout, who had pretty well enriched himſelf with *Turner*'s Money, packing up his Knapſack, deſerted his Accomplices. Who, or what he was, or from whence he came, not one of them could tell, except that he called himſelf *Gray*, and ſaid that his Authority was given to him by a ſuperior Power. But what that Power was, or how ſettled, they were all equally ignorant. They were ſo much inflamed with Sedition, that being liſted by a Perſon unknown to them, they would haſten to Arms in a Moment's Warning. I believe, indeed, that he was not one of the Faction, but a cunning Knave, who, when he came by chance to the Knowledge of the Conſpiracy, uſed this Artifice by way of Robbery; and having good Succeſs therein, the Ghoſt vaniſhed, and from that Time was not to be found. Next Day three other Men were ſet up in the Place of the loſt General; one of whom was *Robinſon* by Name, and he was a Preacher. The Day after *John Wells* joined them, who was an infamous Fellow, and a Preacher of Sedition, and the Goſpel, at the ſame Time. Both theſe *Holders-forth* went preſently to viſit *Turner*, and endeavoured to draw him to their Side, ſometimes with Threats, and ſometimes with fair Promiſes. He, either out of Jeſt or Contempt, ordered ſome Ale to be brought. *Robinſon*, before he would ſuffer him to drink, thus bleſſed the Liquor, calling boldly upon God, *That, without Delay, he would come*

come and aſſiſt his holy Army, threatening vehemently that they would all forſake him, if he did not come; for it was his, and not their Cauſe: And therefore, if he would not fight for himſelf, it was not their Buſineſs to fight for a Coward. Theſe were the very Words, believe me, of this mad Enthuſiaſt. On the 28th Day of *October*, which was Sunday, a Council of their Leaders was held, (in which there were two and thirty *Presbyterian* Preachers,) and they ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be adminiſtred to their Army, by way of a general Purgation. At which time there was a Diſpute among them, whether they ſhould take away *Turner*'s Life; for one of the Articles of the Covenant was, that they ſhould bring all Malignants to condign Puniſhment. They reſolved to put him to Death; but there was a great Controverſy among them, whether they ſhould ſlay the Victim immediately, or preſerve him for a more ſolemn Sacrifice: At length, their Opinion prevailed who were for deferring it, becauſe that would make the Puniſhment the more ſevere. Then they proceeded to tempt the gallant Man, who had not had any Sleep, with the Fear of Death. He ſaid, that he did not fear Death, but ſince he muſt die, it ſignified nothing to him whether it were by a Fever, a Piſtol, a Poniard, an Ax, or an Halter. At length, on the 29th of *November*, the King's Army found out the Enemy, after whom they had marched a long While, two Miles from *Edinburgh*; and engaging preſently, they fought ſtifly on both ſides. *Drummond* began the Battle with one hundred Horſe againſt three Hundred of the

Enemy. At the firſt Onſet, *Crookſhank* and *Mac-Cormac*, the two greateſt Leaders among the Rebels, and Trumpeters of War, were killed: They had been old Soldiers, and old Preachers. The Reſt ſtopped, being frightened at the Death of theſe two Men. Preſently *Ogilby*, with another Body of Horſe, advanced to the Enemy, between whom there was a ſtout, but doubtful Battle. But the King's Horſe, being wearied with the Numbers of the Enemy, retreated a little; to whoſe Relief *Deyell* ſent the Right-Wing of his Horſe. Theſe being too cloſe in a narrow Place, were an Hindrance to each other: Which the Left-Wing of the Enemy perceived, and made a very warm attack upon them; ſo that the King's Forces were obliged to give Ground. But being brought into Order, they ſtood the Enemy's Attack. But when *Lermont*, who had formerly been a Tayler, but now Commander of the Right-Wing of the Rebels, obſerved the Diſorder of the Royaliſts Right-Wing; he imprudently marched from the Ground, where he had drawn up againſt *Drummond*; ſo that Victory was the eaſier obtained, where it firſt began. As ſoon as *Drummond*, and the illuſtrious Duke *Hamilton*, (who ſtood apart on the oppoſite Side, with a choice Body of reſerved Horſe,) perceived this, they flanked the Enemy with ſo much Vigour, that their Foot being driven upon one another, they were put into Diſorder and routed. The Rebels were not more than twelve hundred in Number, and a third Part of them had provided for their own Safety by running away before the Battle began; for eighteen hundred had ſworn, by the Covenant, that

they

they would not desert. So that there is no true Courage without the Assurance of a good Conscience. Eighty were slain, and as many taken; but because the Battle was begun at the Approach of Night, the Flight was greater than the Slaughter. The *Word* of Battle, which the Rebels used that Day, was *Covenant*. The Prisoners laid all the Blame of their Villany upon their Preachers: About thirty were hanged at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*, among whom was *Robinson*, whom we mentioned before to have said Grace over the Ale. When the Fight began, *Wells* and *Semplar*, Preachers, and chief Authors of the Conspiracy, retired to a Mountain behind their Forces, continually bellowing out, *The God, the God of Jacob.* These truly were more prudent than their Companions, not only because it is safer to pray than to fight, and there is less danger in the Business of a Preacher, than a Soldier; but because they who are the last in the Battle, may be the first in running away: And thus these two escaped far before their Companions. The Generals, *Deyell* and *Drummond*, were, as a Reward for the Victory, admitted into the Council; and very deservedly: For if they had not pursued the Enemy with unwearied Expedition and Diligence, they would have flocked together in great Numbers from all Sides. For (as I said) there was an universal Conspiracy, to which, when they had seasonably put a Stop by this Battle, they broke entirely the Force and Heart of the Faction. Though the Nobility, with the greatest Fidelity and Bravery, ran about to suppress the Rebels, among these, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Athol*, *Linlithgow*,

and *Kelly*, did chiefly ſignaliſe themſelves by their Courage and Vigilance; yet Duke *Hamilton*'s Glory ſhone the brighteſt, becauſe the Beginning of the Victory begun with the Body of Horſe, which he commanded. This is what I received from *Drummond* himſelf; all the Reſt I had, partly from him, and partly from Sir *James Turner*, who wrote daily Journals of the Tranſactions in both Armies, which Journals *Drummond*, with his own Hands, kindly delivered to me. *Turner* being in the Power of the Enemy after the Battle, was in greater Danger than before; for his Keepers had Orders to ſlay him immediately, if the Rebels ſhould be conquered; otherwiſe they were to reſerve him for a more ſevere Puniſhment, as they ſerved the moſt illuſtrious Earl of *Montroſs*, whom they hanged upon a Gibbet thirty Foot high; which coming to *Turner*'s Knowledge, he ſaved himſelf by this Policy. When the Battle began, he thus ſpoke with fair Words to his Guards, (who were eight in Number, that had Charge of him:) "This Night, my Friends, either you or we "ſhall get the Victory. If you conquer, I "ſhall remain, as I now am, your Priſoner, "not expecting to be ſet free, but by Death: "But if we get the Battle, you and I are "in equal Danger. If, therefore, you will "preſerve me from your Men, if they hap"pen to be put to Flight; I will not only "defend you from ours, but will get you a Par"don for your Rebellion, and will take care "that every one of you ſhall return in Safety "to your own home". To this they all agreed. But when he conſidered how little Fidelity there

there was in thoſe Men, he adviſed them to ratify their Agreement by an Oath, with their Hands lifted up to Heaven. For that was the Ceremony they uſed in taking the Solemn League and Covenant. The ceremonial Part of this new Argeemeent was ſcarce finiſhed, when the Rebels began to fly; ſeeing which, four of the Keepers fled: He, with the Reſt, ſurrendered themſelves to ſome of Duke *Hamilton*'s Horſe, who, as they were the firſt in conquering, ſo they were alſo in purſuing. Theſe overjoyed at *Turner*'s Safety, brought him to the Duke. He embraced him with the greateſt Joy, and carried him to the Generals, (to whom he was very dear, as alſo to the Duke) and being received by them with equal Kindneſs, he begged the Lives and Liberties of the Guards. They readily granted his Requeſt, for joy that they found a Man of ſo much Gallantry, whoſe Life they had ſo long deſpaired of, was alive. Thus ended not only this fourteen Days War, but all the Wars of this Year.

In the very ſame Year happened the great and dreadful Fire of *London*; and on the very ſame Day (as I ſaid before) which the Rebel-Fanaticks had appointed; by which the Flames conſumed, in four Day's Time, that vaſt Number of Buildings. All within the Walls was almoſt levelled with the Ground; and the Fire ſpreading wide without the Gates, made a great Havock in the Suburbs. Above thirty thouſand Houſes were reduced to Aſhes, upwards of ninety Churches, together with St. *Paul*'s Church; the *Royal-Exchange*; *Guildhall*; *Sion-College*; many Hoſpitals; and a great many

ny other Buildings, as well Sacred as Profane, all which had taken up 56 Acres of Ground.

When, at the King's Command, a Computation was made of the great Loſs and Damage, by Men ſkillful in ſuch Affairs, the Eſtimation amounted to very near ten hundred thouſand Pounds. Men differed in their Opinions concerning the Beginning of the Fire. Some would have it, that it happened by chance, others by Treachery, and ſome were of Opinion, that it came by divine Vengeance. For, as there was a War, at the ſame Time, with the *French* and the *Dutch*, the common People cried out that the Enemies fired the City; though (as is uſual in every ſuch Tumult) many there were who attributed this deteſtable Piece of Villany to the implacable Rage and Hatred of the *Papiſts* againſt a *Proteſtant* City. But there were ſome *Fanaticks*, who whiſpered to one another, that it was done by Command, and continued by the very Guards. Such is the Malepertneſs of that Tribe, that they load the beſt Things with Reproach. For when a Stop was put to it every where, by almoſt the only Help and Aſſiſtance of the King and his Guards; but chiefly by the indefatigable Pains and Vigilance of the Duke of *York*; Can there be a greater Indication of Ingratitude, than to charge them with being the Incendiaries? But if it was done by Treachery, it was by their own; when, it appears, not only by the publick Records of the Court, but by the Confeſſions of thoſe who were convicted, that they had intended to ſet Fire to the City on that very Day; ſo that if it happened by human Means, they ought to take the Blame from o-

thers,

thers, and lay it upon themſelves. But, ſince that City was the Tower and Head of that horrible Rebellion againſt *Charles* the Firſt, many believed that it came from God as a Puniſhment for that Villany. Eſpecially ſince the Fire raged chiefly in thoſe Places, wherein the firſt Tumults were raiſed againſt that good and beſt of Kings; from whence, ſoon after, that wicked, that cruel, that deſtructive War flamed out. But, though I account it Raſhneſs to interpret the Secrets of divine Providence, yet I cannot enough wonder, when I read of ſo great a Calamity, which was confidently foretold ſome Years before. For in the Year 1653, *Zeigler* of *Lipſick* wrote a Book againſt the Regicides, particularly againſt *Milton*, wherein the Prophet, with ſome warmth, thus ſpoke to that rebellious City.

"Thou, that art now proud *London*, in a "little time ſhall be no more; nay, if all my "Notions, and all the Maxims of Policy de-"ceive me not, you are near your Deſtruc-"tion".

But if it happened by the ſame Chance, as other great Calamities do in human Affairs, we ſhould not wonder ſo much that the Fire ſpread ſo far, as that it did not ſpread farther; if we conſider the Situation of the Place, where it firſt broke out.

It began in a Baker's Shop, in a dark Night, among a Parcel of wooden Houſes, rotten with Age. All theſe took Fire upon the Flames firſt breaking out, the Wind being then in the Eaſt. The Lanes and Streets adjoining to theſe were narrow, and Stores of Oil, Pitch, Sulphur, Bitumen, Flax, Hemp, Tallow, and other

other Merchandize, that are apt to feed the Flames, were lodged therein. The Fire having ſeized upon theſe, burned, like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, not only within its own Furnace, but ſent forth Balls, which ſpread abroad; ſo that new Flames broke out in many Places, at a great Diſtance from one another. Nor did the Fire ſeize upon the Houſes only, but the very Air alſo, which conveyed it to all the lofty Buildings with incredible Swiftneſs, before the Strength of the Flames could reach them. Hence the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, famous for the Height of its Steeple, burned with great Violence, before the Fire could make its Way to it through the other Buildings.

But how great Damage ſoever the Citizens and Inhabitants ſuffered by ſo great a Devaſtation, yet it roſe out of its own Aſhes with ſuch a national Splendour, that they were ſcarce ſorry it was burnt, ſince from a wooden City, it became a Marble one. For the Structure of the Houſes was ſo beautiful and majeſtick, that there is not a City in the World its equal. A Stranger would take the Tradeſmans Houſes for Gentlemens Seats, and the Dwellings of Merchants for the Palaces of Princes. Thus did the City not only increaſe in Beauty but Extent; for the *new* One was near double the Magnitude of the *Old*. Nor is it more improved in its *Buildings*, than in its *Reformation*.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.

Biſhop PARKER's

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

BOOK II.

THE King being tired with theſe fatal Calamities of Plague and Fire, yielded to the Perſuaſions of two neighbouring Princes, the *French* and the *Swede*, to enter into a Treaty of Peace with the *Dutch*. But while the Embaſſadors and Miniſters of thoſe Princes, were debating together, the *Dutch* truly, at the very Time they were

entering upon that Peace which they themſelves had begged, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the very Honour of making War, came by Surpriſe upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, then laid up and unrigged. But if they had managed Matters with as much Courage as Treachery, they might have deſtroyed the whole Fleet, without endangering their own; but being very much affrighted at their preſumptuous Attempt, they returned not ſo much with Victory as in Triumph, having taken a few Ships, and burned four: Neither had it been a difficult Matter, even for the *Dutch*, to have overcome the whole *Engliſh* Fleet, which, at that time, was unarmed and unman'd. Otherwiſe they never were ſucceſsful in their Engagements with the *Engliſh*; except in this Piece of Treachery, or once before when our Fleet was divided, one half being on an Expedition againſt the *Dutch*, the other againſt the *French*; in which Caſe, perhaps, the *Dutch* ſailed away with a Share of martial Honour, equal to half our *Engliſh* Fleet. For, though they had their *Tromps*, *Opdams*, and *Ruyters*, and other famous Admirals, yet the Admirals of the *Engliſh* Navy were more puiſſant, and the Seamen much braver. Nay, granting that the Admirals were equally brave and ſkilful, yet the very Sailors, by their Courage and Chearfulneſs, always obliged the Enemy to ſheer
1652. off. Suppoſing *Tromp* to be a Match for *Blake*, as he was a Man of great Courage; yet by the unequal Bravery of his Men, he was overcome
1653. in three Engagements. Let him be ſuperiour in his Skill in Sea-Affairs to *Monk*, who was a Land-Officer, yet to him he reſigned a great Victory,

Victory, and his Life alſo, twenty ſeven *Dutch* Ships having been taken or deſtroyed. I have mentioned in the former Year, how great a Victory, the Duke of *York*, who was a great General at Land, but no way expert in maritime Affairs, or accuſtomed to naval Engagements, obtained (though a freſh Water Soldier) over *Opdam*, who was an old Sea-Man, the very firſt Day their Fleets came up with one another. Laſtly, allowing *Ruyter* to have more Experience than any other Admiral; yet he ſcarce ever durſt engage the *Engliſh*, but when he had a double Number of Ships; and was always obliged to fly, except once, when he engaged half our Fleet.

Even in this Expedition, or Piracy, ſhall I call it, they attempted nothing that was honourable; for when they had occaſion to fight, tho' they aimed at many Things, yet they ſheered off without compaſſing their Point, having been repulſed with the greateſt Diſgrace. For when *Edward Spragg*, a Man, who was the Love and Delight of all Men, as well for his warlike Bravery, as the Sweetneſs of his Temper, had got about nineteen Brigantines, and placed them at the Mouth of the *Thames*, together with a few Fireſhips, he prevented the Enemy from returning into the River, though they had fought two Days. Afterwards, making a Deſcent upon the Coaſt of *Suffolk*, under an Officer who was one of *Cromwell's* Fugitives, they attacked *Languard* Fort. *Darrell*, an old Officer under *Charles* the Firſt, was Governour; a Man of equal Fidelity to his King, and Bravery againſt his Enemy. He ſuffered them to erect Scaling-ladders, and, as they were mount-

ing, he ſallyed out upon them, and beat them down, and made a great Deſtruction of the *Dutch*. When they attempted to ſcale the Walls a ſecond Time, he routed them, having killed about two hundred, and leaving their Ladders againſt the Walls, they immediately haſtened to the Fleet. Laſtly, having ſailed round almoſt the whole Iſland, they tryed every Place that favoured a Deſcent, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, with the ſame Fortune, being repulſed with Loſs and Diſgrace. Thus they continued ſtealing Sheep out of the Fields, till almoſt the End of *Auguſt*, when the Peace was made. *Dolman*, that inveterate Enemy to his Country, and *John de Wit*, who at that time had the ſole Adminiſtration of the *Dutch* Commonwealth, were on board Admiral *Ruyter*'s Ship during the whole Expedition. He was a Man of the moſt groveling Birth, but proud, inſolent, and ſoure; an implacable Enemy to Kings, becauſe that he could not bear their Power and Authority: And ſo this little mean Fellow thought to make himſelf famous by his Enmity with the greateſt Men. He hated principally the King of *Britain*, (and was the baſeſt Flatterer of *Cromwell*, as long as that Tyrant lived) becauſe he had ſuch Sovereignty over the *Dutch* at Sea, as he thought fit. He alone was the Author of all the Wars with the *Engliſh*. But at length, after he had governed a long time, he was miſerably tore Limb from Limb by the Mob at the *Hague*. Of which more hereafter.

The ſame Year died the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High-Treaſurer, a Man of the nobleſt

leſt Birth, and entire Fidelity to the Royal Family; he was Lord High-Treaſurer after the Reſtauration, which Office he executed honourably, without any Advantage to himſelf. He took Care that the King ſhould not be in Debt, for he left the Exchequer, which he found empty, as full as it was in his Power to leave it. Upon his Death, that Office was put into Commiſſion; at the Head of which was *Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards created Earl of *Shaftsbury*, for the Reſt were taken up, for the moſt Part, with other Affairs, ſo that they entruſted him principally with the Adminiſtration.

Some Months after the Death of the Treaſurer, the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord High-Chancellour, was baniſhed, having been attacked by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party, the Houſe of Commons lending an helping Hand, to whom a Prime Miniſter is the moſt elegant Morſel: But whether it was for any Fault, or none at all, ſhall ingenuouſly be declared in its proper Place. But whatever it was, ſo it happened, that the old Counſellors, at the very ſame Time, loſt the King's Favour, who in all Changes manifeſted the ſtricteſt Fidelity to him.

But that the Courſe and Order of theſe Annals may be more clear, I muſt fix a double Period of Time: One, while the chief Adminiſtration of Affairs was in the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party; during which, while they ſeemed to give ſuch Advice, as would pleaſe, yet they managed Matters ſo cunningly, that under a Shew of Affection for the King, they much leſſened his Reputation and Authority.

The

The other, when he was accuſed of Treaſon, and removed from the Adminiſtration.

1667. In the Beginning of the firſt Interval, the Nation was divided, as it were, into two Parties, who were mortal Enemies to each other. The firſt conſiſted of all good Men, who lamented the moſt heavy Condition of the King and Kingdom, when all publick Affairs were put into the very Hands of their Enemies, as it appeared at leaſt to that Party. The other conſiſted of thoſe Men, who were more zealous in promoting the Intereſt of their own Party, than the Wellfare of the Publick. Hence new Commotions aroſe daily in Parliament againſt that Sett of Men. For hitherto, for the Space of ſeven Years, the Parliament had ſhewed ſo great a Regard for the King, that the like had not been known in the Memory of Man. But now they began to look about them, to fear every Thing, diligently to take care of the Wellfare of the Kingdom, and to give Diſturbance to the Faction every Hour, that they ſhould not ſuddenly attempt any Thing againſt it. For, whereas theſe Men took their Meaſures from a double Policy, the one advantagious to the publick Good, the other prejudicial to it, the Parliament ratifyed the former, and diſappointed the latter. By the former, a Tripple Alliance was made between *England*, *Sweden*, and the *United Provinces*, againſt the *moſt Chriſtian King*; he was then in the Flower of his Age, a gallant and cunning Prince, capable of univerſal Empire, a greater than whom *France*, perhaps, never produced ſince the Reign of her *Charles* the Firſt. Being powerful by Sea and Land, and a Terrour to all

all *Europe*, he this Year proclaimed War againſt the Provinces of *Flanders*, which he claimed as his Wife's Dowry. Care was taken by this Tripple Alliance to oppoſe the Enterpriſes of ſo great a Prince, to which moſt of the *German* Princes acceded. The Parliament readily approved this politick Step, and granted a large Supply for the fitting out the Fleet. The other Project of *eſtabliſhing a good Underſtanding and Friendſhip between the King's proteſtant Subjects*, they heard mentioned with the higheſt Indignation, though his Majeſty had recommended it to them in his Speech. Therefore they preſently fly unto the King in a Body, and beg that he would order the Laws, which were made againſt Schiſmaticks, to be put in Force every where. For ſo many Complaints of their freſh Inſolence were brought daily to them from every Part of each County, that if they were not ſuddenly reſtrained, there would be no Peace in the Nation for the future. For when the Factions perceived that their Friends were at the Head of Affairs, they preſently threw off (ſuch is the Perverſeneſs of the Men) all Regard to the Laws and the Magiſtrates. Nor did they only ſeize again upon their own Conventicles with Force and Violence, but with unheard-of Impudence attacked the Miniſters of the Church of *England*, during divine Service, with Reproaches, Outrages, and Clamour. The King being prevailed upon by the Intreaties and Complaints of both Houſes, publiſhed a Proclamation, whereby he commanded all the Governours, and Magiſtrates of every County, Town, and City, and all Officers, as well civil as military, to put the

the Laws in Execution with all diligence. The other Party being aſtoniſhed at the Conſtancy of the Parliament deſpaired of doing their Buſineſs, as long as they continued. Firſt, therefore, they conſult how to get the Parliament diſſolved; and then, if they could not do this, how they might hinder them in the Diſpatch of Buſineſs. The firſt having been attempted in vain, they preſently raiſed Diſputes between the two Houſes, concerning their Privileges and Prerogatives. A Diſpute was formed by Agreement between one *Skinner*, one of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Creatures, and Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, who was one of thoſe that led the Van-guard of the Faction. For this was he, who when a very young Citizen, put himſelf at the Head of the Mob, which in the Year 1641, peſtered the Parliament daily with crying out, *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, againſt the Earl of *Stafford*. He implores the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of Lords; and *Barnardiſton* appeals from them to the Commons. The Factions in both Houſes enter upon the Affair with great warmth; and a private Cauſe, not worth mentioning, being changed into a publick One, gave birth to a new Controverſy, whether it was lawful for the Houſe of Lords to act as a Court of Judicature, except in the Caſes of Appeals, by Right brought before them. The Lords aſſert, that ſince they are the ſupreme Court of the Kingdom, they have the Power of judging: If by Right there may be Appeals to them from other inferiour Courts, why ſhould not their Judgement be lawful without any Appeal at all? On the other Hand, the Commons maintained, that if this Prerogative

of

Church, but the Conſtitution of the Kingdom was ſubverted; for by the *fundamental* Laws of the Kingdom, no Man could diſannul what had been ratified by Parliament; and if the King ſhould do this, he would be a Parricide to his Country. That this therefore was the moſt conſummate Impudence in the Conſpirators, ſuch as the Memory of Man cannot trace. But now they had a mind to try, by this one Example, whether the People of *England* would allow their Kings to have ſo great an Authority over the Laws; for if they would concede to this, there would be no Occaſion for Parliaments, who alone have the Right of making Laws. That the Conſpirators Aim was to order the Matter ſo, that the Parliament ſhould not give a Check to the Liberty, which the King granted by his own Power; but that his Will and Pleaſure ſhould have the Force and Efficacy of a Law.

Marvell certainly was the beſt Judge, whether the Conſpirators intended to introduce Tyranny; for if he was not their Secretary, yet he was admitted to all their ſeditious Conſultations, on Account of the old Friendſhip between them, and therefore the moſt proper Perſon to be a Witneſs againſt his Friends and Maſters. But we ſhall ſee by the Event, at what Mark they took their Aim; for they raiſed an Army of Rebels preſently, who, when Opportunity ſhould offer, were to reſcue their Rights and Liberties from the Power of Tyranny: and it is well known, that they afterwards attempted to do this, but failed of Succeſs. But ſee the ungovernable Preſumption of theſe Fellows! they implant the Fear of Tyranny in the Minds of the People, that they themſelves may bring

every thing into Anarchy and Confuſion. But the Falſehood of this drunken Buffoon exceeded all others, for he now ſharply charged it as a Matter of great Villainy, what in all his Writings he had before affirmed, with the greateſt Bitterneſs, every Man ought to claim by human and divine Right. He was a Principal in claiming Liberty of Conſcience for the Fanaticks; and when the King had granted it, he called this Compliance the Tyranny of *Nero*, on purpoſe to work the People into an Hatred and ill Opinion of his Majeſty's Government. I will trace the Matter back a little, becauſe it was from hence that the Conſpiracy of the Fanaticks took Birth, which afterwards grew up to an open Rebellion by Treachery, and Deceipt, Lies, and the moſt ſubtile Contrivances.

About the Year 1667, when *England* was reduced to a very low State by Peſtilence, Fire, and Sword, the Fanaticks endeavoured, according to their old Cuſtom, to involve their Country in new Sedition: and in order to effect this, they diſpoſed many Libels among the Populace, wherein they demanded an unlimitted Liberty for their ſchiſmatical Fury. They ſaid, that all the Laws, relating to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, were in themſelves wicked and unjuſt; that by the Law of Nature, every Man had a Right to the free Exerciſe of his Religion, and that the great God of Heaven would not ſuffer the great Power which Kings uſurped over the *Conſciences* of Men, where he himſelf had the ſole Dominion. Beſides, they threatened the King with their Faction being very numerous, ſaying, that the *Puritans* were a People not ſo weak or inactive, but that they could and would defend

and

and maintain their Liberties in religious Matters from all Tyranny; that they once did, and not long ſince, by their own Strength, throw off the heavy Yoke, and therefore the King ought to take care, and not raſhly provoke ſo many brave Men. The Principal among theſe were Sir *Charles Worſtley*, and Doctor *John Owen*. *Worſtley* had been one of *Cromwell*'s Privy Counſellors, and a great Sycophant, and was one of thoſe who were for placing the Crown upon *Oliver*'s Head. But when the King was reſtored, he voluntarily quitted all publick Affairs; and though he might have been admitted into the King's Council, yet he diſdained to ſerve, nay, even to obey his lawful Sovereign, though he had not only ſubmitted to, but alſo embraced the Slavery of the Tyrant, *Cromwell*. For he was of the Sect of the *Independents*, who would not allow any one Man (*Cromwell* only excepted) to have a ſupreme Authority in Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, but ſaid all Power was lodged in the People: that Appeals were to be made from the Magiſtrates to Them; that their Power and Authority was ſuperior to that of Kings, which was given by them, and that they ought therefore to be their Lords and Maſters, who could depoſe them, whenever they thought fit. That the Church does not acknowledge the Prieſts to have any Power; that there is no Virtue or Efficacy in ſacred Orders; no Right of Succeſſion; but every Man had a power of chuſing not only his own Miniſter, but (I know not what ſort of) a Chaplain for himſelf. Is it therefore to be wondered at, that Men who will not ſubmit to be under any Government, ſhould alſo refuſe to be under the

Reſtraint of any Laws? When therefore the then preſent State of Affairs ſeemed to ſicken under its great Hardſhips, they flocked together from all Parts, hoping that they ſhould be able to extort by Violence the Reſtitution of their ancient Liberty, while the Strength of the Government was weak and feeble: which being obtained, they would not then fear to encounter with an Enemy, whom ſo many Misfortunes had diſabled. This they did afterwards, as I ſhall ſhew, when (with God's Permiſſion) I come to ſpeak of *Oates*'s Plot, by which they attacked the Government with all their Force. In the mean while, at the ſame time that *Worſtley* publiſhed his Libel, *John Owen* alſo publiſhed another, which he called *An Apology for Liberty of Conſcience*; in which having undertaken to patronize his own Party, he did not bluſh to extoll the *Independents*, as Men of the ſtricteſt Loyalty to the King, and, according to his modeſt way, to clear his Brethren from the Charge, which was laid at their Door, though he himſelf was ſmeared with the Blood of King *Charles* the Firſt. But though his Scribbling be harſh and filthy, without Judgment, and carries no weight with it; though he takes an unſufferable Licence of Lying, yet ſtill it is agreeable to the Taſte of the People. For if ſomething be written, no matter whether well, or ill, true, or falſe; yet they think that to be ſufficient to ſupport their Cauſe. He was, from his Youth, not only an indefatigable Promoter of Rebellion, but a ſtrenuous Advocate for it, the bittereſt Enemy to the *Royal Family* among all the Parricides: he not only exerted himſelf in adviſing the Perpetration of that execrable Deed, but praiſed the

the Commiſſion of ſuch an abominable Fact, in a Sermon which he preached before the Regicides. He admoniſhed and commanded them, as the Prophet of God, to perfect the Work they had begun with the Father, under divine Influence, in deſtroying his Children; for it would be a thing acceptable to God, not only to aboliſh the Government of the Family of *Stuart*, but not to ſuffer one of them to have any Dominion in *England* for the Future. But I have no Inclination to ſay more of this notorious Rebel at preſent, ſince I may, perhaps, ſoon write the Hiſtory of this wicked Man.

Againſt theſe Encroachments of the King's Enemies, I, among others, become a Voluntier, tho' too young, to handle Affairs of ſuch great Moment. I ſhewed them, that it was one thing for the King to grant *Liberty of Conſcience* to his Subjects, through his own Tenderneſs, and another to demand it as a Right due to them. For if Kings can legally grant ſuch a Liberty, yet it would be a very dangerous thing to encourage ſeveral Religions in the ſame Kingdom. That one would be at War with another, and every one be Enemies to the reſt, and all of them to the Church eſtabliſhed by Law. That many Religions gave occaſion for Civil Wars; and it has been experienced in all Ages, that Differences in religious Affairs were never compoſed, but by Blood. That there ſcarce has been a Civil War in the *Chriſtian* World, which was not begun under a Colour of Religion. That they, who engaged in ſuch Wars, were more inveterate and outragious, than if Civil Intereſt had been the Occaſion of their Quarrel; for every one's own Religion is deareſt to him, and he

ſets

ſets a greater Value upon his Church, or other Place of Worſhip, than he does upon his Habitation: and therefore will fight with greater Zeal for that which he eſteems moſt; and religious Wars have always been the moſt Bloody. If we caſt an Eye upon the ſeveral Nations of *Europe*, we ſhall ſee that in the latter Ages, they have been infeſted with fatal Wars; and that Differences in Religion have been the only Cauſe of them; and that thoſe very Wars never ended but in the Subverſion of the State, or the Reduction of the Rebellion. If we look upon *France* alone, how many Lives have fell a Sacrifice to the Raſhneſs and Cruelty of the *Calviniſts*, in the Reigns of *Henry* the Second, *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Lewis* the Thirteenth! under a Pretence of preſenting an humble Petition to *Francis* the Second, who was then a Minor, they plotted againſt the Life of that King. They traiterouſly aſſaulted *Charles* the Ninth at *Meldun*; and if the *Switzers*, uſing both Courage and Stratagem, had not ſurrounded him even to a Miracle, when he was in the midſt of the Traytors Spears, they would have accompliſhed their premeditated Villainy; and afterwards they broke out into open War, and fought till the Strength of *France* was loſt in many Battles, which occaſioned Deluges of Blood. In the Reign of *Henry* the Third, the Nobility excited that Sect to Rebellion, for they had not Strength enough to carry it on without their Aſſiſtance. As often as the great Men of the Kingdom were inclined to an Inſurrection, they always found the Sectaries ready to take up Arms; and although they were almoſt cut in Pieces in many

many Battles, yet the *Hydra* ſprung forth again, and the War was renewed with greater Sharpneſs. *Henry* the Fourth, by granting much to that Faction, increaſed their haughty Spirits, and by heaping ſo many Favours upon them, he was ſuſpected by his own *Popiſh* Subjects to be a *Calviniſt* in his Heart: and under the Colour and Pretence of that they entered into the *wicked League*. Thus while he favoured both Parties, he obliged neither; but while he ſtood between both, each of them was his Enemy. Though they ſuccoured *Henry* of *Navarre* in claiming the Crown, yet when he embraced the *Roman* Faith, they would then *help Henry as a Calviniſt, but not as a King*. If he indulged them in any thing, they looked upon it as their proper Right; and they abuſed the Edict of *Nants*, in making it a Pretence for War. And this alſo was the Occaſion of War againſt his Son *Lewis* the Thirteenth, and they did not lay down their Arms, till *Rochell* was taken, and then being ſtript of all their Forces, they ſubmitted to the King's Power.

Beſides, they who demand Liberty of Conſcience from Kings, as a Right that belongs to them, endeavour to overthrow the preſent eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, and ſubſtitute their own in its Place. For as every Man thinks that his own Religion is purer than all the reſt, then, by the ſame Impulſe of Conſcience, that he is commanded to deſire the free Exerciſe of it, he is obliged to procure the Propagation thereof throughout the whole World, as much as in him lies: and therefore he will not deſiſt from ſuch an Endeavour, till his own Religion be advanced to the Heighth. This, and much

much more to the ſame Purpoſe, I declared concerning the *Right*, which Kings have over Men's *Conſciences*: but though they have ſuch a Right, yet they may recede from it when they will. And we have many Inſtances of this in Hiſtory, but we ſeldom find that it has been done by a prudent Prince, except the Force of War compelled him to it, and when the Danger was over, he then recalled it. The *Dutch* War therefore being ended, they claimed a Liberty of Conſcience too late, for the King had nothing to fear from any Enemy.

But as to the Right, which Subjects claim in Matters of Religion, exempted from the Power of the King, I declared, that if this was allowed, it would ſubvert all the Right of Government; for nothing can contribute more to its Eſtabliſhment, or Deſtruction, than Religion. If Peace, Sincerity, Moderation, Modeſty, Meekneſs, and Submiſſion to higher Powers for Conſcience ſake, are the Touch-ſtones of Religion, then it is the great Intereſt of every King to encourage ſuch Principles in his Subjects: but if Enthuſiaſtick Madneſs, if Superſtition, and a corrupted and depraved Credulity, if Moroſeneſs, Hard heartedneſs, Cruelty, or a Suſpicion that God will do any Injuſtice, are couched under the Word Religion: in ſhort, if Religion be ſuch, as by too long Experience we have found theirs to be, then to allow ſuch Principles to be broached, is opening a Door to let in all Manner of Evils. For if the Liberty, that is deſired, ſhould be univerſal, and not circumſcribed by any Bounds, then there would be another Power erected in the Kingdom, which would always emulate and claſh with the King's Power.

For,

States, and ſailed to the Coaſt of *Guiney*, where, by his perfidious Piracy, he plundered the *Engliſh*, who did not expect any Hoſtility. And laſtly, if the Right of Alliance may be a little violated, the Violation ought to be committed for the Sake of ſo great a Reward. For the King would ſoon take the *Smyrna* Fleet, who were not apprehenſive of a War, and with that one Booty he would clear the Debts of the Exchequer, and defray the Expences of the enſuing War.

Laſtly, That an Alliance ought to be made with the moſt *Chriſtian* King; firſt, becauſe he was the moſt powerful Prince in *Europe*; and next, he was an implacable Enemy to the *Dutch*: Nay, that it was the common Intereſt of every King to have that proud Oligarchy deſtroyed, which had ſo much Power in the Midſt of *Europe*. Nor, indeed, was the War to be carried on ſo much againſt the *Dutch*, as againſt the Faction of the *de Wits*, who had long declared War againſt the very Name of Kings; which Faction being ſubdued, the Prince of *Orange*, who was the King's Nephew, would again recover the Dignity of his Family. That as the Enemy had, for a long time, been unaccuſtomed to a War at Land, and *France* would take the Field with an Army conſiſting of veteran Troops, the Victory would eaſily and quickly be obtained. That the *Engliſh* might be ſure of a Victory at Sea, ſince they were to engage an Enemy, whom they had always put to Flight; and beſides, there was no Room to doubt it now, ſince they were to have the *French* Fleet as their Auxiliary. The War therefore would be ſhort, and very

advantagious; for it might be agreed, that the *French* King ſhould have all the inland Provinces, and all the maritime Towns ſhould be the Portion of the *Engliſh*.

As all theſe Counſels were pleaſing to the King, and moſt of them appearing to be juſt and beneficial, he readily conſented to them. But from thence aroſe the Deſtruction of ſo many Men, that all the Nations of *Europe* have lamented it to this Day. For the *French* King (as I obſerved before) was the moſt powerful of any of them, and almoſt a Match for them all in Courage and Strength; ſo that he alone was to be feared by all the Princes of *Europe*. Since, therefore, it was the Intereſt of every one of them, that he ſhould not be too great, they guarded againſt it by Entering into a grand Alliance. For although that, into which the *Engliſh*, the *Swede*, and the *Dutch* had entered into, was called the Tripple League, yet the King of *Spain*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, a very brave and powerful Prince, and the Emperor of *Germany*, with almoſt all the Princes of the Empire, preſently came into it: By which manifold Bond, they were a ſufficient Curb to *France*, as long as it continued. But when that was broken, the *French* King invaded every Place, and attacked thoſe ſeparately, whom he did not dare to attack when they were united. All *Europe* was preſently in a War; and firſt of all, as it were in an Inſtant, and with the Expedition of *Cæſar's* March, all *Holland* was over-run, as far as *Amſterdam*, which occaſioned a great Slaughter. There was a bloody Engagement at Sea that Summer, between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*; the

the Duke of *York* being Admiral of the former, and *Ruyter* of the latter. The Fight was ſharp on both Sides, and the Enemy, deſpairing of Succeſs, fought with more Fierceneſs than they had done before: And though they were overcome, put to Flight, and blocked up in their Harbours, yet we paid dear for the Victory. There was a great Slaughter on both Sides: For the *Dutch*, with almoſt *Engliſh* Proweſs, coming to a cloſe Engagement, a vaſt Number of Men were ſlain at every Broadſide that was given, and as often as the Ships tacked about. Among the *Engliſh* many under Officers, and ten Captains were ſlain; particularly the Earl of *Sandwich*, and *Digby* Son of the Earl of *Briſtol*, who almoſt alone engaged the Rear Squadron of the *Dutch*. But at length, when *Digby* was ſhot through the Heart with a ſmall Ball, and his Ship alſo had received many Shots between Wind and Water, the Sailors, with much Difficulty, brought her into Port. But *Sandwich*, after he had ſhattered ſeven of their light Ships, and beat off three Fire-ſhips, being at laſt over-powered with Numbers, fell a Sacrifice for his Country. He was a Man who was adorned with all the Vertues of *Alcibiades*, but not tainted with any of his Vices: Of noble Blood, capable of any Buſineſs; a Man of great Judgement; and one of the greateſt Officers both at Sea and Land: Eloquent and learned, affable, liberal, and magnificent. *Digby*, deſcended from a Family famous both for Courage and Wit, was as well beloved by *Sandwich* for the excellent Endowments of his Mind, as if he were his own Son. He was

furniſhed with all Manner of Learning, which graced his Birth; a moſt beautiful young Man, (who had performed many glorious Actions before he had ſcarce attained to Man's Eſtate) and knew not what Fear was; patient of Toil and Labour; prodigal of himſelf, but not raſh; and was engaged in Battles, Aſſaults, Sea-Engagements, and all Manner of warlike Actions, from the Beginning of his Life. And ſo it happened very unfortunately for his Country, to have a Youth of ſo much Bravery, and fine Parts, ſnatched away by ſuch an untimely Death. Thus we ſee that what is moſt excellent, has the ſhorteſt Continuance!

But the Duke of *York* had better fortune, and his Glory was greater, as well in Reſpect of the Danger he was in, as the Courage he ſhewed. In the Beginning of the Engagement, he was ſurrounded by four Ships, Admiral *Ruyter*'s, Vice-admiral *Van-Eſſi*, and two other firſt Rates, which were ſent to ſupport them: And as often as he could get the Advantage of the Wind, he bore down upon them, and engaged them ſo cloſe, Yardarm and Yardarm, as if they had fought rather with their Cutlaſſes, than their Guns. But though the *Dutch* were at firſt animated by their being ſuperiour in Number, yet he plyed them ſo cloſe, that he ſoon put them into Diſorder; but, after three Hours Engagement, the Duke of *York*'s admiral Ship being bored through with ſo many, and ſuch large Shot, and having loſt his Maſts, Yards, and Rigging, he was obliged to go on Board Vice-admiral *Holmes*: In which, with equal Courage, and for ſome Hours, he engaged not ſo much the Enemy's ſingle Ships, as their

their whole Fleet; but this alſo, being diſabled by ſo many playing upon her at one Time, could ſcarce be towed into Port, having ſix Foot Water in the Hold, before the Duke quitted her. From hence he carried the royal Standard on Board a Third, commanded by *Spragg*, and renewed the Fight with greater Sharpneſs; but at length, Night drawing on, (and they began to engage at break of Day) he put the Enemy to Flight, and purſuing them, blocked them up in their ſeveral Harbours for two Days, when a freſh Gale of Wind ſpringing up, which turned into a Storm, he ſailed back into Port with his victorious Fleet. But this one Engagement did not put an End to the War, for they had ſeveral next Year; firſt on the 28th Day of *May*, then on the 4th of *June*, and the laſt on the 20th of *Auguſt*. But the *Dutch*, being now more wary, their Affairs being changed for the better, engage with their uſual Prudence, and uſe rather Art than Courage: For they do not fight, except it be near their own Shores, Ports, and Sandbanks, and almoſt within their own Harbours; neither do they engage, but when they are far off from the Enemy, only there was a remarkable Fight between *Spragg* and *Tromp*. For having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of Hatred, but a Thirſt of Honour, they engaged with all the Fury, or rather the Paſtime of War. They came ſo cloſe, that, like an Army of Foot, they fought with their Guns and Swords at the ſame time. As often as they tacked about, both their Ships, though not ſunk, were bored through by their large Cannon, which were not diſcharged till they

they came within the Reach of ſmall Shot: Nor did one Ball fall into the Sea without doing Execution, for each Ship pierced the other, as if they had fought with Spears. But at length, three or four Ships being diſabled, as *Spragg* was paſſing in his Barge to another Ship, the Boat was over-turned by a chance Shot, and this great Man, not knowing how to ſwim, was drowned, to the great Grief of his generous Enemy, who, after *Spragg*'s Death, deſpaired of finding an Enemy who was equal to himſelf. But thus it happened, that as this gallant Man had eſcaped ſo many Dangers, his Country being now ſafe and victorious, there remained no Honour for him, but the Reward of a glorious Death.——By the Death therefore of this great Man, an End was put to War and Slaughter, by a Peace which was ſoon after concluded: For the *Dutch*, being ſubdued by ſo many Defeats at Sea and Land, and their Pride and Anger being abated, offered humble Petitions to the King of *Great-Britain*, begging for Peace and Mercy, and making uſe of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador to interceed and become a Surety for them. For the King, after ſo many Leagues broken, and vain Promiſes made by the Faction of the *de Wits*, would not be tricked again by *Dutch* Faith, but required ſome Perſon to be *Guarantee* for the Conditions agreed upon: Which being done, the Peace was concluded upon theſe Terms.

Firſt, That the *Dutch* ſhould, for the Future, ſtrike their Colours to the King's Ships.

Secondly,

Secondly, That they ſhould ſet at Liberty the Inhabitants of *Surinam*, whom they had made Priſoners.

Thirdly, That whatever they had taken in both *Indies*, ſhould be reſtored to its ancient Right and Cuſtom.

And *laſtly*, That they ſhould pay eight hundred thouſand Crowns, to the King of Great-Britain, for the Charges of the War.

But before the King would ratify theſe Articles of Peace, he was pleaſed to lay them before the Parliament, who approving every Thing the King had granted, except one Article of ſmall Moment, that is to ſay, the Liberty of fiſhing near the *Britiſh* Coaſts, moſt heartily thanked his Majeſty, and applauded what he had done. About the Beginning therefore of the next Month, *viz.* *February* the 9th, 1674, a Peace was concluded, which has been religiouſly kept to this Day. Every Thing in theſe Articles was complyed with, which had occaſioned the War, eſpecially the Right and Honour of the Flag; which the *Dutch*, from the Time of *Cromwell*, had never ingenuouſly acknowledged to be due to the *Engliſh*, in any League they had made, but couched it under ambiguous Terms. But as this had been the Cauſe, or rather the Pretence of War, *Borrell*, the Embaſſador from the *States-General* to the King of *Great-Britain*, conſulted *John de Wits*, who was the chief Man in Authority, how he ſhould treat of this Affair. *De Wits*, on the 22d of *September*, anſwered him in theſe Words. "This pretended Sovereignity of the Sea, was "always ungrateful to the Ears of the *Dutch*,

"and

" and rejected with Scorn, as often as it was " propoſed; and at thoſe very times when the " Affairs of the *Dutch* were in a low Condi- " tion, in reſpect to the *Engliſh*, and when " they were in the greateſt Straits, as well " by reaſon of their Want of Ships, as their " not being able to commence a War, in the " Years 1653 and 1654, when they entered " into a League with *Cromwell*." In which, after a long Debate, the *Dutch* did agree to give the Honour of the *Flag*, not as a Right and Due, but out of Complaiſance and Civility: And when the *Engliſh* had, for a long time, inſiſted that their whole Fleet, as well as every ſingle Ship, ſhould lower their Topſails, and ſtrike their Flag; the *Dutch*, on the other Hand, ſtrenuouſly refuſed to agree to a Peace, except that Clauſe, concerning the *Submiſſion* of the whole Fleet, was omitted.

There was the ſame Agreement in the Treaties of 1662, and 1667, in which, ſays he, there was nothing new done, but the *Engliſh* were contented with the bare tranſcribing the Article, formerly drawn up: " From whence " it is plain, that it is not without a manifeſt " Injury, that this Honour is required as a " Right, and a Thing due from the Republick " of *Holland*, or that the whole Fleet of the " *United Provinces*, when they meet one or " two *Engliſh*, ſhould ſubmit to lower their " Sails, and ſtrike their Flags, in Point of " Honour to them: And both theſe Things " were looked upon as intollerable, even in " the moſt difficult Times of the Republick, " and therefore rejected. How much more " therefore is it intollerable (with Submiſſion

" I ſpeak

" I ſpeak it) that any ſuch Thing ſhould now " be demanded of us." Thus he ſpoke.—To the ſame Effect the States preſented a Memorial to the King of *Great-Britain*, by their Embaſſador, *January* the 28th, *February* the 7th, 171½, agreeing ſo exactly in Words and Subſtance with *de Wits*'s Letter, that it is plain he was the Author of both. To theſe the King anſwered, that he reſented it very much, that *Cromwell*'s Times ſhould be objected to him; and that the Right of the Flag, was a very ancient Right belonging to the Kings of *England*, and had been paid from the earlieſt Time within the Memory of Man, not by any League or Compact, much leſs by any made with *Cromwell*. That he, the eaſier to maintain his new-acquired Tyranny at home, agreed to the moſt diſhonourable Conditions of Peace abroad, and ſacrificed the Rights of Monarchy to his own unjuſt Poſſeſſion. That it was enough for a Tyrant, if he had any Civility (as they call it) paid him by Foreigners; but that a King of *England* would never accept an Honour ſo precariouſly given. That if it was not allowed to be a Right abſolutely due to him, he would not receive any Thing from *Dutch* Courteſy; for an Honour ariſing from ſuch a Title would not laſt long, but might be withdrawn the very firſt Opportunity. They ſhould therefore know, that he demanded an abſolute Sovereignty of the Sea, not on the *Britiſh* Sea, (as they would have it) but further Norward, as far as *Norway*. They ſhould remember that their Fathers paid a yearly Tribute to *Charles* the Firſt, for the Liberty of fiſhing within the Seas of his Empire and Juriſdiction,

riſdiction, in the Years 1635, 1636, 1637, and therefore their Endeavours againſt it were in vain. Thus the *Dutch* being overcome, agreed to what Terms he pleaſed; again acknowledging our ancient Right, and the Confines of our Sovereignty at Sea, to extend as far as *Norway*. The *French* King was the only Perſon that oppoſed this League: His Embaſſador, *Ruvigny*, by a Memorial which he preſented the 25th of *January* 1674, complaining, that by the Articles of the Alliance with *France*, it was not juſt to make a ſeparate Peace. But why did he not conſider, that he himſelf had broke this Alliance before? for the Kings agreed chiefly upon that Condition, that the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, made between *France* and *Spain*, in the Year 1662, concerning the Limits of both Kingdoms, ſhould be preſerved; and yet the *French* King made an Irruption into *Flanders*; and therefore the King of *England* was not only releaſed from that broken Alliance, but was obliged to maintain *Flanders* by Force of Arms againſt the *French*, as well in his own Defence, as in Defence of his Ally, the *Spaniard*. Thus the War, which was baſely begun by the *Factious*, was brought to a perfect, happy, and honourable Concluſion, when they were put out from the Management of publick Affairs.

But though the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut in our Part of the World, by putting an End to the War with the *Dutch*, yet the ſame Rage and Contagion ſeized all the other Parts of Europe. Which ſkipping from one Country to another, there was not a Nation, *Britain* excepted, which did not feel and lament the worſt

worſt Calamities of War, for four Years together. For as the moſt *Chriſtian* King was the more elated by his good Succeſs againſt the *Dutch*, being before an enterprizing Man, he preſumed that every Thing muſt ſubmit, to him; the neighbouring Princes, ſurprized at his ſudden Greatneſs, took up Arms by common Agreement. Firſt, the Emperor of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, and the *United Provinces* entered into an Alliance, upon a Condition common to all Alliances; that every Thing ſhould be done by the joint and common Conſent of the Confederates. That no one ſhould treat ſeparately for himſelf. That each of them ſhould obtain the ſame Conditions of Peace for the Reſt, which he had ſtipulated for himſelf: And that he ſhould not make a Peace upon any other Terms.

Thus the *Dutch* agreed with the *Spaniard*, by the eighth Article, that they ſhould not treat of a Truce ſeparately; nor that the one ſhould enter into a Ceſſation of Arms without the Conſent of the other. By the ninth Article, That one ſhould not treat of a ſeparate Peace from the other, nor without making the ſame Terms for their Ally, as for themſelves. By the 16th Article, That they would not make Peace with the moſt *Chriſtian* King, until the *Catholick* King ſhould be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Places that were taken from him ſince the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, in the Year 1659. By the 18th Article it was ſpecially agreed, That they ſhould deliver into his Hands the City of *Maeſtricht*, with its Diſtricts, *Sans aucune Reſerve* (as the *French* call it) without any Reſerve. But the Alliance

with the Emperor was not ſo ſtrict: To whom it was granted (becauſe, at that time, the *Turk* threatened the Empire,) by the ſixth Article, That he ſhould recall his Forces from the confederate Alliance againſt the moſt Chriſtian King, if there ſhould be a War with the *Turks*. The Duke of *Lorrain* was the firſt who acceded to this Tripple Alliance, with whom this Agreement was made, by the ſixth Article, in theſe Words: "That if the Matter ſhould "break forth into an open War, their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majeſties, and the *States-General*, do jointly, and with the common "Conſent of all, pledge their Faith to his "ſerene Highneſs the Duke of *Lorrain*, that "they will not treat of a Peace, or a Truce, "without acquainting him with it; nor till "they have procured, at the ſame Time, the "requiſite and neceſſary Power, and ſafe Conduct of ſending his Embaſſadors to the Place "appointed for the Treaty. That they ſhall, "from Time to Time, communicate to his "ſerene Highneſs whatever ſhall happen in "thoſe Treaties; and that they will not a-"gree to a Peace, or a Ceſſation of Arms, "till they have obtained for him the ſame "Rights as for themſelves: And until all "the Lands, Dominions, Places, Rights, Immunities and Prerogatives, which belonged "to his Dukedom, when the *French* King laſt "invaded him, ſhall be reſtored to him." Two Years after the Death of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the ſame League was voluntarily renewed by the *States General*, with his Nephew and Succeſſor, *Charles*, in theſe Words: "The "*States-General* to all and every one whom

"it

" it ſhall concern, ſend greeting. Whereas by " a Treaty, made the 1ſt Day of *July*, 1673, " between their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Maje- " ſties, and *ourſelves*, of the one Part; and " his ſerene Highneſs the Duke of *Lorrain*, of " glorious Memory, of the other Part: Be it " known unto all Men, that the aforeſaid Agree- " ment did not only relate to the Perſon of " the ſaid Duke, but alſo to the Lords his " Succeſſors; and, therefore, we renew the " ſame Alliance with the preſent Duke on our " Part. Neither will we conſent to any Treaty " of Peace, unleſs his ſerene Highneſs be ad- " mitted into it, and reſtored to all the Rights, " which his Uncle, of glorious Memory, poſ- " ſeſſed. In Teſtimony whereof we have ſet " our Seal, *&c.* the 11th Day of *December*, " 1675."

Next to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh* came into the Alli- ance on the 10th and 20th of *June*, 1674, by the 14th Article. At the ſame time, by the 20th and 24th Articles, the Duke of *Branden- burgh* acceded; and by the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the King of *Denmark*. In the Beginning of the next Year, *viz.* 26th of *January*, 1675, the Biſhop of *Oſnaburgh* by the 14th Article; and the Biſhop of *Munſter* by the 8th. Laſt- ly, the Prince *Palatine* by the 19th Article, the 25th of *November*, 1676, though ſomewhat late; and perhaps he had not come into it, if his Country had not been almoſt taken and ſpoiled. For the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine* was the firſt Theatre of the War: A Province that ſuffered more by War, than any other; hav- ing

ing been laid waſte by the frequent Battles in the *German* War of the laſt Age.

The firſt Battle between the two moſt famous Generals, *Turenne* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, was fought on the 16th of *June*, 1674, with the Loſs of a great many Men on both Sides, but the Advantage equal: And ſo the Generals being a Match for each other, marched off with a great Slaughter of their Forces, the Victory being claimed by both, but not obtained by either. Above twenty thouſand Men were ſlain in both Armies in a few Hours; and if Night had not put a Stop to their Fury, perhaps the Battle would have ended in the univerſal Deſtruction of both Armies, and not in a Victory; for each General ſcorned to quit the Field, except he had the better of the Day.

With the ſame Rage and Fortune of War, the Princes of *Orange*, and *Conde* fought on the 11th of *Auguſt*, near a little Town called *Seneff*, in *Flanders*. The Battle was hot and doubtful, and there was no Retreat but in Death; both Armies often giving way, but neither drawing off.

Firſt, The *French* coming ſuddenly upon them out of a Wood, attacked them in the Rear, put them to Flight, and took their Cannon and their Baggage: But purſuing thoſe who fled to their own Men, they were repulſed with great Slaughter; and to ſuch a precipitate Flight were they put, that, loſing their Booty, they could hardly draw up in Order. Hereupon, when they had marſhalled their Troops for an equal Engagement, the Battle was renewed. The Action was very hot,

hot, and the Generals were preſent every where; they encouraged thoſe who behaved themſelves gallantly, and reproached thoſe that did not: If any Part of the Army ſeemed to retreat, they ſtoped it by their Example, ſo that there was a bloody Slaughter on both Sides: For they fought with ſuch Heat, that being quite tired, and not being able to bear their own Arms, much leſs the Strokes of the Enemy (if they had any Strength left to ſtrike) they cannot be ſo properly ſaid to have ſounded a Retreat, and to have marched off in Order, as to have voluntarily given over the Battle by the favourable Intervention of the Night. Each Army ſeemed rather to admire the Obſtinacy of the Enemy, than to boaſt of their own Victory. The *French* acknowledged that four thouſand of their Men were ſlain, and above ten thouſand of the Enemy. The Event of the Battle was ſuch as might be expected from two Generals, who truſted to their own Courage, but knew not how to yield.

A third Battle was fought this Year in the ſame Province of the *Palatinate*, between the ſame Armies, and under the ſame Generals, as the firſt. And that alſo was ſuch a Battle as might be expected between two Armies, who rivalled one another; for it had not yet been determined, concerning the Succeſs of the former Battle, to which Side the Victory inclined. Since, therefore, the Event of this Battle was to be, as it were, the Reward of both, they fought with double Obſtinacy. They engaged in the Morning, and fought with ſuch Heat till Evening, as might be imagined between two Armies who were enflamed with

Anger,

Anger, Hatred, Revenge, and Thirſt of Glory. The Slaughter therefore was ſo great, that it did not ſeem ſo much to be a Battle as a Carnage; nor did they part from one another, till both Sides being weary with killing, marched off to refreſh themſelves. There was no leſs than twenty thouſand Men killed in both Armies, which was almoſt half the Number that were in the Beginning of the Action. Thus the Year was ſpent in theſe moſt cruel and almoſt univerſal Slaughters; which, however, could never have happened, had not Room and Opportunity for War been given by breaking the Tripple Alliance. For the *French* King was not ſo mad as to have dared alone to proclaim War againſt all *Europe*. But when the Alliance was broke, he then began that War againſt the *Dutch*, which excited all the People of *Europe*, from their Habitations far and wide, as far as the *Chriſtian* World does reach, to defend themſelves againſt him. From whence there proceeded ſuch a vaſt Deluge of *Chriſtian* Blood, as perhaps never was before; eſpecially if we compare the ſhort Time, in which ſo many Wars were carried on, with the Greatneſs of the Slaughters.

1675. But when they had fought ſo often with equal Strength and Loſs of Men on both Sides, and their too much Confidence in themſelves, and Contempt of their Enemy being abated, they began to conſider of a Peace, through the Perſuaſion and Interceſſion of the King of *Great-Britain*, who alſo offered to become a *Guarantee* of the Treaty. They wrangled a great While (as I may ſay) about a Place for the Congreſs; but two Years after, they agreed

greed upon *Nimeguen*, a City in the Province of *Gelderland*. In the mean Time, while the Embaſſadors of the Princes prepared themſelves for their Embaſſies, (which generally takes up a great deal of time in getting their Equipages ready) the Preparations for War were the greater on both Sides, between Enemies who diſtruſted one another. The confederate Princes raiſed five Armies; firſt the Imperial, under the Command of Count *Montecuculi*, which was to encamp upon the *Rhine* in *Alſace*; the ſecond under the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon the *Moſelle*; a third under the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, againſt the *Swedes*; a fourth of the Dutchy of *Lunenburgh*, and the Biſhopricks of *Oſnaburgh* and *Mindenburgh*; the fifth under the Prince of *Orange*, in *Flanders*; to which may be added, the King of *Denmark*, who was to bring an Army of above ſixteen thouſand Men, to ſuccour the Duke of *Brandenburgh* againſt the *Swedes*. The moſt *Chriſtian* King made equal Preparations to theſe; but in the very Beginning of the War, the *French* Affairs were ruined by two deadly Blows. For when *Turenne* and *Montecuculi*, two Generals equal to each other, had ſpent almoſt all the Summer in watching an Opportunity to get convenient Ground, after innumerable Strategems of War, they encamped within Cannon-ſhot of each other. *Turenne* entrenched his Camp, that the Enemy, imagining him to be diffident of his Strength, might more readily, and with leſs Caution attack him on a ſudden. But when he had built two Bridges over the *Rhine*, which flowed between their Camps, not far from *Strasburgh*, and had

made all Things ready for a Battle, ſome pretended Deſerters told him, that an Ambuſh was laid not far from the Bridge. He went preſently, *July* 17th, with thoſe who made this Diſcovery, to a convenient high Ground, to look about him. The Enemy, in the mean time, had planted two Field-pieces, loaden with Carthridge-ſhot, in a Thicket not far off; which being diſcharged, as he was looking before him, ſo many Balls were lodged in his Breaſt, that he dropped the very Moment he was wounded. Thus dyed the moſt famous General of his Time, both for Conduct and Courage; not above ſixty four Years old, when for more than thirty Years he had born the Honour of great Mareſchal of *France*, which he diſcharged with the Glory and Character of the moſt conſummate Commander: A Man of the greateſt Skill in military Affairs, and invincible Courage; who never loſt a Battle, and never, till his Death, was outwitted by any Craft or Stratagem. But it was Satisfaction enough, that the Scholar (for when he was young he ſerved under *Montecuculi*, (and was beloved by him for his military Atchievements) ſhould be out-done by his Maſter in that Art, which he had learned from him. When the Soldiers received the News of their General, or rather their Father being ſlain, (for every one that ſerved under him called him Father) they were ſtruck with ſuch Rage and Grief, that their Officers could ſcarce reſtrain them, being full of Tears, and mad for Revenge, from ruſhing in upon the Enemy. For never was any General more beloved by his Men; thoſe whom he corrected with Diſcipiline,

cipiline, he obliged by Courteſy: He was ſevere, when Neceſſity required it; never paſſionate or cruel; and as affable and familiar among his Soldiers, as was conſiſtent with the Dignity of a General. In the mean time, the general Officers perceiving that the fermenting Rage of the Army began to ſubſide, and apprehending that it might ſink into Fear and Cowardice, called a Council of War, and reſolved to retreat, and paſs the *Rhine* with as much Expedition as poſſible. This was done three Days afterwards, by Night; the Count *de Lorge*, the Mareſchal's Nephew, commanding the Retreat, who though he managed it with excellent Conduct and Courage, yet he was ſo gauled in the Rear by the Enemy, that he ſcarce brought off half his Army. The next Day after the *French* had quitted their Camp, the *Germans* purſued them briſkly, and a ſharp Battle was fought. It began before Noon, and continued till Sun-ſetting, with a great Slaughter on both Sides, and the Battle doubtful. Above ſix thouſand of the *French* were killed, and three thouſand of the *Germans*. But the *French*, paſſing the *Rhine*, after the Battle, came with joyful Hearts, but fatigued, to their Quarters in *Alſace*.

Much about the ſame time another melancholly Expreſs came to the moſt *Chriſtian* King, from lower *Germany*, with News that the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Confederates, had obtained a Victory over the Mareſchal *Crequi*: For when the Confederates had, for a long time, beſieged the *Auguſt*-City of *Triers*, *Crequi* came to relieve it. *Lorrain* marching ſuddenly from the oppoſite Side of the City,

came up with him about Noon, and made as great Havock of his Army, as was made at the Battle of *Cannæ*, or at the Lake *Thraſymene*. Moſt of the Horſe, and all the Foot were ſlain, and their Artillery and Baggage taken. *Crequi*, with ſix of the Horſe, broke through the Midſt of the Enemy with great Subtlety and Courage, and flung himſelf into the City of *Triers*. *Lorrain*, having conquered *Crequi*, whom the great old Man hated moſt of all, becauſe he had been driven by him out of his Country, did (as I may ſay) deſpiſe a longer Continuance of Life, and joyfully breathed out his Soul, being full of honeſt and generous Revenge: For what could happen more pleaſing to ſuch a brave General, as he was, than to dye victorious? In the mean Time, the Mareſchal *Crequi* had flung himſelf very opportunely into the beſieged City; for the Governour, Count *de Vignor* was killed ſome Days before, and the Cannon firing continually, had made ſeveral Breaches in the Walls: Nor could any Aſſiſtance be expected, ſince *Crequi* was beaten. Beſides, the Enemy attacked them more ſharply after the Victory, than before it. Yet *Crequi*, in theſe deſperate Circumſtances almoſt rebuilds the City: He plants Cannon upon the Walls to keep off the Enemy; wearies them with frequent Sallies; beates them off from the Ramparts, and drives them back to their Camp: He repairs the ſhattered Walls and Towers, and raiſes new Fortifications within to ſtrengthen the Places that were moſt expoſed. He did not ceaſe one Day from fighting or working: Sometimes he breaks in upon their

their Camp, and is always ſucceſsful in his Sallies. At length, the Enemy being weary of ſo many Attacks, and the Slaughter they occaſioned, made a general Aſſault upon the City on the 1ſt Day of *September*. An Attack was made in four Places, by four Bodies, at the ſame time; the Beſieged were beaten from the Ramperts, being over-powered by the Enemy, and the Confederates having taken the Walls, thought that they ſhould alſo be Maſters of the City; and therefore made an Aſſault upon ſeveral Places, where the Breaches were wide, but were driven out with great Loſs, and preſently diſlodged from the Ramperts. Nevertheleſs, three Breaches being made in the Walls, forty Foot wide, every one, except *Crequi*, deſpaired of defending the City any longer. *Crequi* refuſed, but all the Reſt ſent Deputies to treat of Articles for ſurrendering the City. They were allowed, and it was agreed, that they ſhould be conducted under a ſafe Guard to *Vetray*, which was the next *French* Garriſon; and an Oath given that they ſhould not bear Arms in three Months. That the Colonels ſhould march out on Horſe-back, armed; but that the other Officers ſhould have only their Swords by their Sides. *Crequi* alone ſurrendered himſelf a Priſoner of War, at Diſcretion: By which Greatneſs of Soul he not only recovered the King's Favour, but had more of it than ever. So that afterwards the chief Command of the Army was placed in him, as it had been before in *Turenne*. But the Reſt, who ſurrendered, were caſhiered, and their Leader beheaded. For there is no Law of War more ſacred, and of greater

greater Antiquity, than that a Soldier ſhould not do any thing without his General's Command, much leſs contrary to it; for if this Law were taken away, martial Diſcipline would entirely ceaſe. Therefore the whole Army ſhould rather have fallen, with their General, in the Ruins of the City, than to have deſerted him, though their Circumſtances were ever ſo deſperate.

1676. By the various Loſſes this Year, not only of his own Forces, but of his Confederates alſo, (for the *Swedes* had bad Succeſs this Summer) the *French* King began to be more heartily inclined to Peace. For being a Man of ſharp Judgement, and deep Penetration, he foreſaw if the War ſhould lie longer upon him, than he had a Mind to have it, that then it might be heavy and grievous to him. Therefore the War was carried on afterwards, with various Succeſs on both Sides, not ſo much by Battles as by Sieges.

Early in the next Spring (*April* 17th) the City of *Conde* was unexpectedly beſieged by the *French*, the moſt *Chriſtian* King directing the Siege. It was taken and plundered in nine Days time, and almoſt at the very firſt Attack, though the Garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred Men. For when the King received Intelligence, that the Prince of *Orange* was marching, with all Expedition, and with a great Army to relieve the Town, he carried on Attacks continually in different Places; and by one Aſſault, when Part of the Wall was broken down and levelled, he took the Town almoſt in a Moment, and made the Beſieged, Priſoners of War. But though the Prince of

Orange

Orange often drew up his Army in Order of Battle, and challenged him to an Engagement; yet the *French* King, having been taught by the Loſſes he had the former Year, not to leave his Camp, to try the Fortune of a War; and from an eager Man being made leſs prone to fight, could not be moved by any Affronts, and choſe rather to proceed by Policy, than by Battle.

But when the *French* King could not be drawn to an Engagement, (wherein the one had not more Advantage than the other) by the Marches and Counter-marches which the Prince of *Orange* had made; being tired with moving from one Place to another, he ſate down before *Maeſtricht*, in lower *Germany*, and beſieged it; and at the ſame Time, the Confederates undertook the Seige of *Philipsburgh*, in upper *Germany*. Both Sieges were carried on with the greateſt Vigour; and on the other Hand, the Beſieged made frequent Sallies; ſo that their Obſtinacy occaſioned great Havock on both Sides. In the mean Time, the Mareſchal *de Humiers* beſieged *Aire*, a City in *Artoiſe*; and attacked it with ſuch Fury, that, contrary to his Expectation, (though he was a ſure Man) he made himſelf Maſter of it in a few Days. He was a very great General, and commanded throughout the whole War, where any Thing was to be manfully and diligently put in Execution. He durſt encounter all Dangers, and had a Preſence of Mind in every Emergency; he was indefatigable, and a particular Favourite of the Duke of *York*, who ſet a great Value upon him for his invincible Courage and Firmneſs of Soul. Hence, taking

taking the ſtrong Fort of *Lens* by the Way, he advanced towards Mareſchal *Schombergh* by long Marches; a Man equal, and if any General in the Army was ſo, ſuperiour to him in Courage, Conduct, Expedition; and laſtly, in Honour acquired by great Actions, that by joining their Forces, they might raiſe the Siege of *Maeſtricht*; which had been attacked and defended for two Months and an half with unheard-of Reſolution on both Sides. The Beſieged ſallied out continually, and the Beſiegers as conſtantly attacked; and frequent Attacks of all the Forces happened, which occaſioned great Slaughter on each Side. The ſtrongeſt Redoubts were often taken by the Enemy, and they were as often driven out of them by the Beſieged: But at laſt, when whatever had been done, which the Rage of War could do, and the Beſieged had now no other Hope than from Succours, at that Inſtant the Mareſchals appeared: At which joyful Sight, as the Beſieged took freſh Courage, ſo the Enemy having weakened their Army by ſuch a long Siege, called a Council of War, and reſolved rather to raiſe the Siege, than try the Fortune of War.

Thus Matters were carried on in lower *Germany*; but, in the mean Time, they fought (if poſſible) with greater Rage and Slaughter in upper *Germany*. At *Philipsburgh* every deſperate Attempt was made, which is uſual in a long Siege. The Confederates at their firſt Coming, becauſe it was unexpected, took the Fort which lay between the City and the Bridge over the *Rhine*; by which they had opened a Paſſage for conveying privately as much Succour

cour to their Army as they wanted. The Tenure of this City was reckoned to be of ſuch Conſequence by both Parties, that they preſently marched with all their Forces, the one to cover the Beſiegers, and the other to relieve the Beſieged. In the mean Time, the Beſiegers pitched their Tents ſooner than was expected; the City was ſurrounded with Lines of Circumvallation; Batteries were raiſed, and eighty Cannon planted; and they fired on both Sides without Intermiſſion: Sallies were made daily, and the Siege carried on every Day more cloſely, and the Ditch being filled up, the City was ſurrounded almoſt under the very Walls. This News being brought to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, he advanced with an Army conſiſting of above forty thouſand Men: But the Duke of *Lorrain* had poſted the imperial Army ſo conveniently before the City, that *Luxemburgh*, deſpairing of relieving it, withdrew, without doing any Thing, or even endeavouring to come to a Battle. In the mean Time, the Beſieged were not diſpirited, but ſallied out upon the Enemy continually: But at laſt, having thrown up Breaſt-works, a general Aſſault was reſolved on. But when the Governour of the City (whoſe Name was *Fay)* declared, that he would not ſurrender the City, till it was taken by Aſſault, they gave him Notice of it before they began. But having called a Council of War, and finding that all their Powder was almoſt ſpent, and ſo large a Breach made in the Wall, that it could not be maintained any longer; or if it could, that they had not a ſufficient Number of Men to do it, their Garriſon being reduced to ſix

hundred foot Soldiers; he ſent to make Conditions, and they preſently agreed to ſurrender upon theſe honourable Terms. That the Garriſon, except they were relieved in ſix Days, ſhould march out with their Arms and Baggage, Colours flying, Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, Swords drawn, and with all their Money, whether private or publick; and go to *Hagenau*, the neareſt Garriſon they had, under the ſafe Conduct of a Party of both Armies. Such honourable Conditions did one generous Enemy grant to another; nor could better have been demanded, or granted by the Laws of War, at opening the Siege, than they now obtained when the Hopes of defending the City any longer were loſt. And theſe Conditions were performed with the ſame Courteſy as they were agreed on. For the moſt illuſtrious *Harman*, Prince of *Baden*, a conſummate General, and who had the Command of the Army during the Abſence of the Duke of *Lorrain*, came to meet the Governour, as he marched; and, leaping from his Horſe, embraced him with the greateſt Tokens of Honour, and begged to have the Favour of his Acquaintance for the Future; in Token of which, he deſired him to accept his Sword, which was ſet with Diamonds. The Governour anſwered, he could not receive a Preſent from an Enemy, unleſs he firſt had obtained the King his Maſter's Leave. Then the Prince deſired, that the Governour would give him his Sword; who anſwered, that it was neither juſt nor honeſt in him to refuſe any Thing to one who had conquered him; and bowing very low, gave him his Sword. Now, ſays the Prince, though

though you are unwilling to accept a Preſent from an Enemy without your King's Conſent, and make another in Return for it, yet without doubt his Majeſty, than whom no Man has a greater Soul, will allow that Friends may exchange their mutual Tokens of Eſteem for one another. Upon this he put the Diamond-Sword into his Hand, and the Governour accepting it, was by him diſmiſſed with great Civility. Nor did the King receive this gallant Man with leſs Favour; and in Conſideration of his Bravery, he conferred upon him the Government of *Briſac*, another Town in *Alſace*, with a very conſiderable annual Salary. Theſe were the Tranſactions between the *French* and the Confederates this Year; and the Lives alſo of as many Men were loſt this Year in Sieges, as had been the Year before in Battles. But Death was not yet ſatisfied with the Sacrifices of ſo many great Men; for the ſame Time that the Enemies were treating of Peace, they were the more eager in making Preparations for War.

In the Beginning of the next Year, before 1667.
it was yet the Seaſon to take the Field, the moſt *Chriſtian* King, according to his uſual Expedition, ſat down with his whole Army before *Valenciennes*, one of the beſt fortified Cities in *Hainault*. He came there on the tenth Day of *March*, opened the Trenches that Night, finiſhed the Works in leſs than five Days, and immediately the Day following, divided his Army into four Bodies, gave Orders for a general Aſſault, and when the Signal was given, they ſcaled the Walls in a Moment on every Side. This was done with ſuch Fury, that,

almoſt at the very firſt Shout, they diſlodged the Beſieged from their Out-works, and purſued them with ſuch Ardour to their inward Fortifications, that they did not allow them any Time to recover themſelves. Being driven out of their Works, they retired into the City, and the *French* pouring in among the Croud, ſeized the Gate and the Walls, and turning their Cannon upon the City, the Beſieged were ſo terrified, that, flinging down their Arms, they yielded themſelves Priſoners at Diſcretion. The King, by his own Command, put a Stop to the Rage of his Men, and ſaved the City from being plundered. Thus the City was taken, and no other Change made in it, but of its Maſter. From hence he marched immediately with all his Forces to *Cambray*, a City of the ſame Province, and came before it on the 22d Day of the ſame Month; and making every Thing ready for an Aſſault, they ſtormed the Town with ſo much Vigour, that they took it on the firſt of *April*, and the Enemy retired into the Citadel; which, although it was well fortified, he took before the 20th, granting the Enemy very honourable Terms.

At the ſame Time, St. *Omers*, a City of *Artois*, was beſieged by his illuſtrious Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*. But the Prince of *Orange* being highly provoked at the Enemies having obtained ſo many Conqueſts, marched with all Expedition to relieve his Allies. The *French* waited for his coming up, and preſently after, a dreadful Battle enſued. They fought from ten o'Clock in the Morning till Sun-ſetting, with great Fury, and the Loſs of much

Blood

Blood on both Sides; at leaſt ſixteen thouſand Men were killed, when the Prince, ſeeing that his Men were haraſſed with their long March, and not able to bear any more Fatigue, ordered a Retreat to be ſounded. But now all the Avenues, by which any Succour could come, being ſtopped, the Beſieged were more furiouſly attacked than before, and, two Days after, the Citadel of *Cambray* had ſurrendred, the City of St. *Omers* did alſo ſurrender upon the ſame Terms. Both Armies being fatigued with theſe frequent Battles and Sieges, retired to their Quarters, and being refreſhed, they renewed the Campaign. Firſt, the Prince of *Orange* cloſely beſieged *Charleroy*, a Fortreſs in *Flanders*, with all his Forces, in the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*. But the Duke of *Luxemburgh* approaching immediately with an Army of forty thouſand Men, before the Prince's Artillery was arrived, the Siege was raiſed by the Advice of a Council of War, though the Prince was very unwilling, and would not conſent to it for ſix Hours.

About the latter End of the Year, (the Beginning of *November*) Mareſchal *de Humiers* beſieged St. *Guiſlain*, a Town of *Hainault*, in lower *Germany*, with a Bravery natural to his Country and Perſon, and was Maſter of it on the 11th Day, by Surrender. Thus all the Wars of this Year were ended, and to the Advantage of the *French*.

Their Succeſs was as great the next Year, for the *French* took the Field before the *Swallows* appeared. For the Mareſchal *de Humiers*, the King himſelf being then preſent, laid Siege to *Ghent*, a City in *Flanders*, on the 7th of *March*;

March; in four Days he took the Town, and the Caſtle ſurrendered three Days after. On which Day, the Mareſchal *de Lorge* beſieged *Ipres*, a City thirteen Leagues diſtant from *Ghent*, to the *Weſt*. And though it was defended with great Reſolution, yet was taken by Capitulation on the 16th Day of the ſame Month. On the 2d of *May*, the Governour of *Maeſtricht*, with four hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe, under the Command of *Mellac*, took the Caſtle and Town of *Leew*, which was the Key of *Brabant*, by Surprize. On the 1ſt of *June*, a Truce for ſix Weeks was made between *France* and *Holland*: But in the mean Time the War was carried on with the *Spaniard* and *German*. The Duke of *Noailles*, who commanded in Chief all the *French* Forces in *Catalonia*, againſt the *Spaniard*, beſieged the City *Puyſard*; which *Guſman*, the Governour, defended with a true *Roman* Bravery. And he would not liſten to any Terms of Surrender, till he had been informed by an Officer, whom, by the Permiſſion of the Enemy, he had ſent to get Intelligence, that the Succours, which had been ſent to him, were marched back. So that deſpairing of Relief, he ſurrendered upon honourable Terms on the laſt Day of *May*.

But the ſharpeſt Battle that was fought this Year, was between thoſe excellent Generals, *Crequi* and *Staremberg*, in upper *Germany*. For when the *French* and *German* Armies had lain encamped a long While, within a few Miles of each other; *Staremberg*, who was the *Marcellus* of his Age, impatient of Delay, having obtained the Emperor's Leave, advanced nearer with

with ſix thouſand Men, being permitted to fight at his own Diſcretion. He was a Man of great Activity, inured to Battles, and could govern himſelf, but challenged the Enemy with his handful of Men. *Crequi*, at firſt, ſent out an equal Number of his Forces, but when theſe could not ſuſtain the Enemy's Onſet, all the Army advanced. *Staremberg* made a Stand for ſome Hours, but at laſt being over-powered with Numbers, he retired to his Camp. And as the warmeſt Part of the Engagement happened at the Bridge of *Rhenfeld*, (in which Town *Staremberg* had taken up his Quarters,) to prevent, on one Hand, the Enemy from entering the Town, and on the other, that they might plunder it, when they had made themſelves Maſters of the Bridge. Great Havock was made on both Sides, many were killed, more were drowned, and after an Hour and an half, the *Germans* were driven into the Town, and the Enemy entered it at the ſame Time: But they met with ſuch a warm Reception, that they were preſently obliged to repaſs the Bridge; which being broke down by the *Germans*, the Battle was ended with equal Loſs of Men, but the Gallantry of the Action was very unequal. An Action certainly worthy the Greatneſs of *Staremberg*, a Man born for the Preſervation of *Chriſtendom*. For if it had not pleaſed the divine Providence to ſend ſuch a Man as *Staremberg* into the World, in our Age, it is to be feared, that the greateſt Part of the *Chriſtian* World would have ſubmitted to the *Turkiſh* Yoke. For had the City of *Vienna* been taken in the Year 1683, before the confederate Armies had joined one another,

(and

(and perhaps no Man in the World could have defended it ſo long as *Staremberg* did) an Inroad would have eaſily been made to all the Provinces of *Germany*. When I ſeriouſly conſider the great Fatigues, which he underwent during the whole Time of the Siege, I ſeem rather to be amazed at a Prodigy, than to reflect upon a Fact; and I make it a Doubt, whether it is a Dream or a Thing that is real. But thus it happens in every Age, that Providence ſends ſome extraordinary Men into the World to ſhine with diſtinguiſhed Glory. Thus *Staremberg*, though otherwiſe great in himſelf, and eminent for his heroick Actions, yet if Heaven had not deſigned him for that Government, very few of his Friends had eſcaped Death. But now his Name is immortal, and the Honour he has acquired ſhall never fade; long may he live to enjoy the inward Satisfaction of all his glorious Actions; and I humbly hope he will accept this ſmall Teſtimony of my grateful Soul, for the Service he has done in reſcuing the Chriſtian World.

Thus went Affairs between the *French* and the *Germans*; when, in the mean Time, all Things ſeemed to have a Proſpect of Peace between the *French* and the *Dutch*. For the King of *Great-Britain*, on the 3d Day of *June*, 1674, all *Europe* being then in a Flame, having offered his good Offices and Mediatorſhip for a general Peace, was accepted by common Conſent, though neither Party ſeemed very deſirous to put an End to the War. Hence they ſpun out as much time in Delays, as they poſſibly could; firſt, they debated about the Place of Congreſs, and having ſpent almoſt a Year

Year in ſettling that Point, concluded at laſt upon *Nimeguen*, in *Gelderland*. Afterwards, two Years were taken up in Preparations for the Embaſſy; in ſettling Preliminaries, Letters of ſafe Conduct, the Titles of Embaſſadors, the Ceremonies of the Congreſs, and the like. Nor did they begin to treat of Peace in good earneſt till the 15th Day of *March*, 1677, at which Time, the *French* King, who hitherto had protracted Affairs, as much as he could (for he was a Man no leſs expert in managing a Treaty, than in carrying on a War, which are two very great Qualifications in a King and a Soldier) began to treat ſeparately with the *Dutch*. Among other Terms of Peace, which he propoſed to them, by his Embaſſadors, he agreed to deliver up to them the City of *Maeſtricht*, with all its Dependencies. But, in the mean Time, he went on with his Sieges.

When the King of *Great-Britain* ſaw that he and his Mediatorſhip were thus trifled with, and that the Provinces of *Flanders*, which were neareſt to his own Dominions, would ſoon fall into the Hands of the *French*; at the earneſt Perſuaſion of the Parliament (but with what Sincerity, ſhall be ſhewn in its proper Place hereafter,) he entered into an Alliance with the *Dutch*, in the Beginning of the next Year.

When the *French* King was informed of this, he ſent immediately to the Congreſs, of his own accord, on the 15th of the next Month, the Terms upon which, and no other, he would make Peace. Among theſe he firſt ſtipulates to have the ſame Conditions for his Allies, as for himſelf; for the *Swede*, and the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, that all the Places taken

from them in the War, ſhould be reſtored; for the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, the Rights of his Biſhoprick; and for his Brother, the Prince of *Furſtenbergh*, his Liberty. Laſtly, that certain Places ſhould be reſtored to the King of *Spain*; but all the Province of *Burgundy*, *Valenciennes*, *Conde*, *Cambray*, St. *Omers*, *Ipres*, *Aire*, and other ſmaller Towns, ſhould be his own.

But when theſe high Demands were made to no Purpoſe, (for the Mediators would not propoſe them to the Confederates) and great Preparations for a War by Sea and Land were carried on in *England* and *Holland*; the moſt *Chriſtian* King endeavoured to draw the *Dutch* into a ſeparate Peace, by Letters which he ſent from his Camp near *Deiſne*, dated *May* 18th. For he perceived by the many Inſtructions they had given, not only by the Complaints which they had made a little before to *Spain* and *England*, that they were not able to ſupport a longer War; but alſo by *Beverning*, their Embaſſador, who privately declared to the *French* Embaſſadors, that the *States General* would accept the Conditions of Peace which had been offered, provided, that if the *Spaniard* would not come into them, they ſhould run no hazard from the Conqueſt of *Flanders*. He promiſed to receive them into his former Friendſhip, provided they would ſtand *neuter*; and that whatever ſhould happen, he would deſiſt from carrying on the War in the United Provinces. They embraced the King's Mercy by Letters, which humbly teſtified their greateſt Thanks, and alſo ſent *Beverning* to obtain farther Favour from the King. The King told him,

him, that he was glad they had manifeſted ſo ſtrong an Inclination to Peace, which, as it would be a great Benefit to Chriſtendom, ſo it gave him the higheſt Pleaſure. That he deſired nothing more than to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood; and greatly rejoyced to find that they were as piouſly inclined: And, therefore, he would agree to a Truce for ſix Weeks, in which Time they might try to bring in their Allies. But if they obſtructed the Peace of *Europe*, he then required of the *Dutch*, that from that Time they ſhould have no Hand in the War. The *Dutch* declared to their Allies what Meaſures they would take, and that if they would not come into the ſame Terms of Peace, they would treat ſeparately for themſelves. Each of the Confederates, by their Memorials, which they preſented on the 10th Day of *June*, reproached them with their Perfidy. His *imperial* Majeſties Embaſſadors were the firſt who oppoſed it; and the ſame was rejected with Bitterneſs enough by the other Miniſters of the Allies. But the *Dutch* were obſtinate; for their Affairs would not admit a Delay, and therefore they muſt immediately either make Peace conjunctively, or they would make one ſeparately. There was another Conference on the 20th Day of the ſame Month, in which the Allies made the bittereſt Complaints; more particularly the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Embaſſador, who by his Maſter's Order, and in his Name, peremptorily refuſed, with the greateſt Contempt, to treat upon ſuch ſcandalous Terms of Peace, as were offered to his *ſerene Highneſs*; and, at the ſame Time, deſired the Allies to remember the Promiſe,

which they had religiouſly engaged to execute. But, ſays he, if there be no Faith in Man, (and none there can be if he is deſerted by his Allies after Entering into ſo many Leagues,) a voluntary Baniſhment ſeemed to him far more honourable, than a ſervile Dominion. But the *States*, nothing at all touched with the Scorn and Reproaches of the Allies, ordered their Embaſſadors two Days afterwards to ſign the Peace. The *Dutch* and the *French* having agreed to a Peace, (as it was thought) and conſequently the Face of Affairs in *England* being changed, and the Parliament requiring the King inſtantly to diſband the Army; on a ſudden, when they came to ſign the Peace, the *French* King, having been caſually aſked, at what Time he would evacuate the Places which had been taken from the *Spaniard*, anſwered, not until all the Provinces of *Pomerania*, and every other Place, which had been taken from the *Swedes*, ſhould be reſtored to them. By this new and unexpected Condition all Things were again brought to a Rupture; the Allies were in pain about diſbanding the *Engliſh* Army, for if that ſhould be done, it was plain that the Affairs of *Flanders* would be in a deſperate Condition: But if that could be deferred for ſome Time longer, than it would be in every one's Power to have his Demands ratified by a Peace. The Army happening not to be diſbanded, through the Firmneſs of the King, contrary to the Expectation of *France*, the Allies thereupon took Heart again; and the very *Dutch* threw themſelves into the King of *Great-Britain*'s Boſom, as their Sanctuary and Defence: And cancelling all the Agree-

Agreements they had made with the *French*, entered into a new Alliance with the *Engliſh*, *viz.* That except the King of *France* would accept, before the eleventh Day of *Auguſt*, ſuch Terms of Peace as had been offered, and evacuate all the Places he had taken, they would that very Day declare a confederate War againſt him; and would not deſiſt till they had, by Force of Arms, compelled him to make a juſt and fair Peace. *France* pauſes, invents Means for Delay, and pretends to offer I know not what Expedients, in order to gain time; but when he ſaw that he could avail nothing by this, he conſented that the *Swediſh* Embaſſador ſhould entreat him to prefer the Peace of *Europe* before the Intereſt of their Country. Not that they were ignorant of what would be advantagious to them, but becauſe they knew, that the *Dutch* having broke off from the Confederacy, and the *Engliſh* being deſerted by them, the *French* King might afterwards exact ſuch Terms of Peace from the Reſt of the Confederates, as he pleaſed. They found this to be true, when he commanded, that all the Places which had been taken by the *Dane* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, ſhould be reſtored to the *Swede*. Thus, at length, late at Night, on the 11th Day, the Peace, which had been ſeparately negotiated, was ſigned between the *French* and the *Dutch*. The Allies were aſtoniſhed; the whole Proceeding occaſioned great Warmth; they all made bitter Remonſtrances; and principally the *Engliſh* Mediators, who not only refuſed to ſign the Inſtrument of Peace, but ordered their Names to be ſtruck out of it; For they were

were ſent by the King, their Maſter, to procure a general Peace for *Europe*, and not a ſeparate one for the *Dutch*. Not long after, that is to ſay, on the 25th Day of *Auguſt*, *Lawrence Hyde* was ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary and Plenepotentiary to complain to the *States*, that they had twice implored Succour from the King his Maſter, when they had engaged their Faith that they would not accept a Peace, which he ſhould not approve; when he declared, that he would not confirm any Peace, except the ſame was alſo made with the *Spaniard*; yet breaking their Faith to him, and the Allies, they did it privately, by Stealth, at Midnight: Neither did they require any Security for delivering to the *Spaniard*, the Places, which had been taken from him; but on the contrary, had gratified the *French* King with new Terms by giving him *Beaumont*. That by theſe Proceedings, the League which they had laſt made with the *Engliſh*, whereby they were both obliged to carry on the War againſt *France*, was baſely broken. If they refuſed, he would preſently proclaim it himſelf, and therefore would tranſport all his Forces with as much Expedition as poſſible, into *Flanders*. To this the *Dutch* anſwered, that they gave the King hearty Thanks for his great Kindneſs to them: That they would take upon them to make Peace between the *French* and the *Spaniard*, upon ſuch Terms as he ſhould like. If the *French* ſhould refuſe, that it would be in their Power to maintain the Alliance made with the King of *Great-Britain* againſt him, and that they would

would proclaim War on the very Day appointed for Peace.

Thus this whole Affair, which had been confirmed by ſo many ſolemn Leagues, was made a Jeſt; for the *Dutch* having made a Peace for themſelves, the *Spaniard* could refuſe no Terms, not being able at that Time to carry on the War: Nor indeed, as the Caſe then ſtood, could he ſo properly be ſaid to treat for himſelf, as to accept ſuch Terms as the *Dutch* preſcribed for him; ſo that it was not ſo much a Treaty, as a Submiſſion to a Peace.

Thus the League, on the 17th Day of *September*, was ratified, (ſuch as it was) by the Procuration of the *Dutch*, for the *Engliſh* Mediators had renounced that Office.

The Allies having therefore thus begun a Separation, the Confederates fell off, one after another, each for the Preſervation of his own Dominions, and accepted the beſt Terms of Peace, which they could obtain.

But it ſo happened, and indeed moſt unfortunately, that on the very Day the Articles of Peace were ſigned and exchanged between the *Dutch* and the *French*, the ſharpeſt Battle of all was fought by them, who knew nothing of the Concluſion of the Peace. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* had for a long time carried on a cloſe Siege againſt *Mons*, a City in *Hainault*; and the Beſieged ſent Word to the Prince of *Orange*, that being driven to the laſt Extreamity, they muſt be obliged to ſurrender upon the hardeſt Terms, except he came preſently to their Relief. The Prince, without Delay, was up with them in a Moment; and having encamped

camped in a convenient Place, fortified by Nature, ſuddenly attacked the Enemy with the greateſt Fury. The Battle began a little after Noon, and laſted till Night. Never did Men fight with greater Spirit; and every one killed his Man, with whom he encountred, or was killed by him; and they that fell, died upon the Spot: And above twelve thouſand Men were ſlain, without turning their Backs, or any Advantage appearing on either Side.

But the greateſt Havock by far, was made in that Wing, which was compoſed of *Britons*. For the Earl of *Oſſory*, eldeſt Son of the moſt illuſtrious Duke of *Ormond*, and moſt like his Father in martial Proweſs, as well as in other Things, had the Command of ſix thouſand *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, which he divided into ſix Batallions. He poſted himſelf where the moſt Danger was to be expected from the Enemy; and though he attacked them with the greateſt Spirit, and was encountered with equal Courage and Reſolution, yet at laſt he drove them, Step by Step, from their Ground, tho' naturally well fortified. He ſhewed his Men an Example by marching at the Head of them; was the firſt that began the Attack, and was one of the firſt that mounted the Entrenchments of their Camp. If any of his Men gave Ground, he rode up to them, and encouraged them to fight, by his own Example. As he fought againſt the Flower of the *French* Army, againſt the King's Life Guards, againſt His and the *Dolphin*'s own Regiments, and, indeed, againſt the *royal Marines*, which were reckoned the beſt Regiment the King had, it muſt neceſſarily follow that the Engagement was very

very Bloody. Moſt of the Soldiers were killed; few Officers eſcaped; thirty of our Side lay Dead upon the Spot, and as many were wounded. The Enemy would not acknowledge how many they loſt, though they confeſſed that the Slaughter was very great on their Side. At every Attack this brave General ſignalized himſelf by his Intrepidity, as if he deſigned either to conquer or to dye: Nor was he more ambitious of Victory than Danger, for where there was an Enterprize of Moment, he claimed that Poſt as his own. He would have the firſt and greateſt Share in every Action; and was as gallant a Commander by Sea as he was by Land. During the firſt *Dutch* War, he was a Voluntier in every Engagement, and behaved himſelf with ſuch Courage and Activity, that the King ſoon honoured him with a *Flag*: And he was the greateſt Terror to the Enemy. For when he made an Attack, he bore down upon the Center of the Enemy, and broke their Line; and he engaged them ſo cloſe, that being in Confuſion they were obliged to ſheer off. He either took or ſunk whatever Ship he attacked, and, if it was in his Power, he would choſe to engage an Admiral: And though he was always the firſt that returned into Port, yet he never left the Fleet, till his Ship was ſhattered, and himſelf a Conqueror: With which Greatneſs of Soul, he made himſelf Maſter of his Friends, as well as his Enemies, and was ſo well beloved by the Sailors, that they adored him as a God of their Element. For as his Courage was great, ſo likewiſe his Liberality; and he diſtributed among them great Sums out of his own Pay;

If any Man behaved himſelf gallantly, he rewarded him out of his own Purſe. His Hoſpitality made him popular; for he always kept, at his own Expence, an open Table, well furniſhed with the beſt of every Thing. He exceeded *Titus* in Humanity; and was as free in Converſation among his Soldiers, as if they had been his Companions; familiar, gentle, courteous; a Friend to Merit, not tinctured with Pride, which is often a Blot to our Nobility. As he was adorned with theſe Excellencies, no General was ever more beloved by the Soldiery, nor did any Soldiers place greater Confidence in, or behave with more Gallantry under any other General. Thus the Event of War depends chiefly upon the Example of the General; for when he dares to attempt any Thing, they are aſhamed not to follow their Leader. But this great Man, who had eſcaped ſo many Dangers, was ſuddenly cut off by a malignant Fever, in the Flower of his Age; to the great Grief of his Country, but to her much greater Loſs.

Thus, by this bloody Battle, an End was put to this almoſt ten Years War; and the Peace ſealed by the Death of ſo many thouſand Men; as if *Mars*, finding that the Peace was begun, apprehended that there was almoſt an End to his Empire, and therefore reſolved to ſecure to himſelf the Slaughter of this Day. At the ſame Time two Conſpiracies broke out; one of Count *Tekeli* in *Hungary*, the other of *Oats* in *England*: But, perhaps, of theſe hereafter. But let us return to the other Wars in *Europe*, to which the Violation of the Tripple Alliance gave Birth.

Though

Though the Southern Parts of *Europe* ſuffered much by ſo many Battles, yet the War in the North was much ſharper; where the firſt Tryal (about the Beginning of *July*, 1675,) was between the *Swede* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, for the Province of *Pomerania*. In the firſt Battle a great Victory was obtained over the *Swedes*, their Cannon taken, and above four thouſand Men killed, the Enemy not loſing ſcarce half that Number. The Conqueror purſued the Conquered for five Days, and drove him almoſt out of the Confines of *Pomerania*. This was the firſt Turn of Fortune. For the *Swede*, being highly incenſed at the Violation of the Tripple Alliance, entered into a Confederacy with the *French* King; therefore, as the one carried on the War in the South, ſo did the other in the North, but not with equal Succeſs. For the Elector of *Brandenburgh* having made himſelf Maſter of *Pomerania*, and the *Dane* of *Schonen*, the whole Dominion of *Sweden* had been loſt, if the King of *France* had not put a Stop to the Conquerors. The *Dane* and *Brandenburgh* joined their Forces, both eminent Generals, and each of them commanded his own Troops; Men of equal Bravery and Conduct in War. They made ſuch Inroads into the *Swediſh* Territories from different Sides, that, before the End of the War, they had almoſt ſhaked Hands in the very Bowels of the Kingdom. On the 10th of *November*, *Wolgaſt*, a fortified City in hither *Pomerania*, and under the Juriſdiction of the *Swedes*, was ſurrendered to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, after it had been beſieged ten Days: At which Time the *Dane* beſieged *Wiſmar*, the ſtrongeſt fortified

Town in the Dutchy of *Mecklenburgh*. And when, according to the uſual Methods of Sieges, he had carried on his Approaches ſo near the City, that he could Aſſault it with all his Army, he ſucceſsfully ſtormed the Town with invincible Courage. For the King heading his Troops in the Depth of Winter, in the Midſt of Froſt and Snow, when the Ditches were full of Water, and in a dark Night, attacked their Fortifications with ſuch Fierceneſs, that, in the Space of two Hours, they beat off the Beſieged, and making themſelves Maſter of one of their largeſt Forts, they deſired to ſurrender upon Conditions, which being granted, the King took Poſſeſſion of the City next Day.

1676. At the End of the next Year, a ſharp and bloody Battle was fought near *Lunden*, a City in *Schonen*. For it is the Cuſtom in the North to take the Field in the Winter, if the Rivers and Arms of the Sea be frozen ſo hard, as to bear an Army to march over them. The *Dane* had, for ſome Months, laid cloſe Siege to *Malmoe*, another City in *Schonen*, formerly in the Dominions of the *Dane*, till it was taken by *Charles Guſtavus*, King of *Sweden*, in the Year 1658. The *Swede* marched with an Army of twenty thouſand Men to raiſe the Siege. At Break of Day he reached the Enemy's Camp, and attacked their left Wing: They fought ſharply for ſome Time, but, at length, the *Danes* were routed; their Horſe fled, moſt of their Foot were killed, and their Cannon taken. In the mean Time, the King heading the right Wing of the *Daniſh* Army, with his Brother Prince *George*, attacked the Enemy's left

left Wing; and they fought with the utmoſt Reſolution. The Victory ſeemed to be doubtful for ſome Hours; but the *Swedes* at laſt, not being able to bear the Onſet, were forced to fly; and the *Danes* took not only the Enemy's Cannon, but retook their own alſo. They remained Maſters of the Field, and their left Wing had an Opportunity of rallying. Upon this the Battle was renewed with greater Sharpneſs, and it did not end till Night: So that they retired with equal Slaughter on both Sides, the *Swedes* having retaken their Cannon before Sun-ſet. The King of *Denmark*, during the whole Battle, diſcharged the Duty not only of a moſt active General, but even of a private Soldier. He attacked the Enemy eleven Times at the Head of his own Regiment; and his Brother Prince *George*, being too eager, ruſhed into the thickeſt of their Ranks, and being ſurrounded, brought himſelf off with much Difficulty. If any Advantage was gained by this bloody Battle, the *Swedes* ſeemed to have it, becauſe they raiſed the Siege; otherwiſe, ten thouſand Men were ſlain to very little Purpoſe: However, they tryed the Fortune of War next Summer. In *July*, the left Wing of the *Daniſh* Army being again routed, the King himſelf commanding the Right, gave a Turn to the Battle. Thus Things were carried on at Land; but the *Danes* had better Succeſs at Sea. For about the Beginning of the ſame Month, their Fleets engaged, the *Swedes* had thirty ſix Ships, and the *Danes* twenty four. They ſtrove a great While to get to Windward of each other, but when the *Dane* could not do this, he bore down upon the Enemy, and

July 23. 1677.

and broke through their Center; *Fuell* being then Admiral, a Man of great Courage and Experience in Sea Affairs. Nor did he only break through their Line, but got to Windward of them alſo. And though the Enemy was vaſtly Superior in Number, yet he fought with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that having deſtroyed one and twenty Ships, and the Reſt running away, he returned into Port with Victory, and laden with naval Spoils. About the ſame Time, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* beſieged *Stetin*, the Metropolis of *Pomerania*; a City, which in its Defence, exceeded *Crequi*, and almoſt *Saguntum*, in Reſolution. He opened the Trenches on the ſeventh of *July*, and becauſe it was well fortified, attacked it with uncommon Fierceneſs, but the Beſieged beat him back with much greater. They ſallyed out every Day, preſently deſtroyed their Works, ſet fire to their Fortifications, and filled up the Trenches of their Camp. They did as much as could be expected for Men to do, having taken an Oath, that they would ſooner dye, than Surrender upon any Terms. They made a great many Fortifications within, for the better Defence of the City, if their Out-works ſhould be taken: And the Ruins were piled up ſo high, that every Houſe was a Citadel. Thus by theſe Means they obliged the Enemy to beſiege many Cities in one; who, on the other Hand, raiſed Batteries round about, upon which they planted upwards of ſeventy Mortars, and bombarded the City Night and Day. It was fired in many Places, and being ſoon reduced to Aſhes was buried in its own Ruins. The Towns-Men were more reſolute

reſolute than the Soldiers, and they immediately ſtabbed every one who mentioned a Surrender; and they compelled the Governour to ſwear, that he would not offer or accept any Terms. It is reported, that when a Servant brought Word to one of the Towns-Men, who ſtood Centinel upon the Walls, that his Wife and Children were killed by a Bomb, he ordered him to take care that they ſhould have a decent Burial; for he would not quit his Poſt, but could ſooner dye for his Country than receive the News of their Death. At laſt, when the Elector of *Brandenburgh* underſtood that no Succours were ſent privately to the Beſieged, and the Deſerters telling him that the City was buried in its own Ruins, he commiſerated their Condition, and voluntarily offered them honourable Terms of Surrender; but if they would not accept them, he then threatened to put them to the Sword. They thanked the Elector for his great Kindneſs, and begged that he would not make any Mention of Surrender, for they had bound themſelves by an Oath to the contrary; and when they ſhould be driven to the laſt Extremity, they would not deſpair of Mercy from ſuch a generous Conqueror. When therefore their Gates were broke down, they filled up the Breach; and when their Walls were blown up, ſixty Foot in Length, by the Enemies Mines, they were attacked in the Breach. The Towns-Men made it good by expoſing their own BODIES, and with unexpected Reſiſtance, they drove the Enemy back upon the Ruins, and purſued them, trembling and affrighted as they fled, to their own Camp.

They

They proceeded to fill up ſeveral Times the Breaches, which they raiſed ſo high, that they ſerved for Breaſt-works. The Enemy, being quite ſpent with ſo many Attacks and Aſſaults, deſired the *Dane* to ſend them ſome Succours privately; and when they were arrived, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* prepared all Things for a general Storm; yet he forbore, purely in Compaſſion to ſuch brave Men. He therefore threatened again to put them all to the Sword, unleſs they would ſurrender; having offered them honourable Terms. They would not comply for a long While; but finding that their Powder was almoſt ſpent, and conſequently that they could hold out but a little While, they ſent Deputies to treat of a Surrender. The Elector, who was a Prince of the moſt generous Spirit, granted them more than they deſired. He not only confirmed to them the Privileges they enjoyed under the *Swede*, to whom they fell by Right of War, but moſt indulgently renewed the old Ones, which they had enjoyed under their own Princes, the Dukes of *Pomerania*. He gave them Liberty to fiſh for ten Years, without laying any Tax upon them; nor did he demand any Thing from them, but that they ſhould rebuild their Churches; and he promiſed to rebuild their Cathedral at his own Expence. To gain a Conqueſt over their Minds, as well as their Bodies, was a Victory worthy of ſo great General. He highly eſteemed the Magnanimity of thoſe Men, and wiſhed that all his Subjects were as brave, not doubting but that they would manifeſt an invincible Fidelity to him. There were three thouſand Soldiers, beſides a vaſt Number of Citizens,

Citizens, when the Siege began; but two hundred only marched out, after the City had ſurrendered, two thouſand three hundred being killed, and the Reſt not able to march by reaſon of their Wounds: But how many Towns-Men loſt their Lives, as they principally defended the City, muſt be computed from the Number of the Soldiers that were ſlain. They deſtroyed above half the Enemy's Army, who owned indeed that they loſt twelve thouſand Men. This is the greateſt Slaughter that ever appeared upon Record, but ſuch as might be expected between Enemies, who fought with a Reſolution on both Sides either to conquer, or dye glorioufly.

Next Year the War was various and changeable: Early in the Spring (*January* 15th 1678,) Count *Coningſmark*, Commander in Chief of the *Swediſh* Army, made a Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Rugen*, which was Part of the *Daniſh* Dominions. This was done in the Night, and he landed two thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, without any Oppoſition from the Enemy, who had no Thoughts of the War being brought thither; and having pitched his Tents, challenged the *Danes* to Battle, when they could ſcarce believe, that there was an Enemy upon the Iſland. When they came to an Engagement, it happened, that *Rumer*, the *Daniſh* General, was ſhot, as he rode along the Line, and fell in Sight of both Armies. This ſtruck the *Danes* with Terrour, and put them into Diſorder; but animated the *Swedes*, and made them look chearful. But it proved fatal to the *Daniſh* Intereſt; for the Army being compoſed of different Nations, the Generals

quarrelled among themſelves for the chief Command; and when the *Swedes* perceived this, they preſſed hard upon them, and beat them out of their Ranks; and being aſtoniſhed, and in a Diſorder, they broke in upon them, and put them to flight. The *Danes* who were ſeven thouſand in Number, loſt all their Baggage and Cannon; and being ſhut up in an Iſland, all of them were either taken or ſlain, except a few Officers, who getting into ſome Boats, committed themſelves to the Waves. This great and unexpected Favour of Fortune put ſuch Courage into the *Swedes*, that they immediatly, with all their Forces, beſieged *Chriſtianſtad*, a ſtrong Town in *Bleking*, a Province under the Juriſdiction of the *Danes*, and well fortified round about; which ſurrendered at laſt, after a long Siege, and when every Thing was ready for a Storm. But this was the End of the good Fortune of the *Swedes*, almoſt as ſoon as it began: For in the next Month the *Dane* and *Brandenburgher*, made a ſudden Deſcent, in ſeveral Places, upon the Iſle of *Rugen*. The *Swedes* being terrified at the Numbers of the Enemy, fled to the Sea ſhore, and paſſed over in Boats and Barges, to *Stralſund* in *Pomerania*. A great many were drowned; above a thouſand Men, and three thouſand Horſes were taken. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* purſued them preſently to *Stralſund*, which he beſieged; and took it by Surrender a Month after, though *Coningſmark*, exerted himſelf to the laſt, with the Reſolution of *Crequi*. From thence he marched to *Gripſwald*, which he beſieged, and took by Surrender. Thus he made himſelf

himſelf Maſter of all *Pomerania*, for this City was the laſt that fell into his Hands.

The next Year he invaded *Pruſſia*, and routed the *Swedes* in three Battles, and having deſtroyed almoſt all their Army, drove them out of the Confines of the Province, making great Havock among thoſe that fled. The *Swediſh* Affairs being now almoſt in a deſperate Condition, the King of *France* roſe up again, declaring, that he would have no regard to the Peace made with the Princes of *Europe*, except the King of *Sweden* was alſo admitted into the Articles of that Peace. He therefore demands, that the Elector of *Brandenburgh* ſhall reſtore to the *Swede* all the Cities, which he had taken in *Pomerania*, as he himſelf had reſtored, to the *Spaniard*, all thoſe which he took in *Flanders*. The Elector oppoſed this; the *French* King inſiſted upon it; and except he preſently complyed, ſaid, that he would invade his Dominions. In the mean Time, till there could be a proper Opportunity for a Treaty of Peace, a Truce, at his own Interceſſion, was made for ſix Months. His electoral Highneſs prolonged the Time; but the Truce being expired, he invaded the *Marcomanni*, a People of *Germany*, under the Dominion of *Brandenburgh*. Upon this the Elector, having been deſerted by his Allies, and not being a Match for the Enemy by himſelf, willingly accepted the Terms of Peace that were offered, ſtriving only to keep the City of *Stetin*, which coſt him ſo dear, as a Reward of all his Toil. The *French* King would abate nothing; every Place muſt be reſtored, nor would he permit him to keep an Hand's Breadth of what he had taken.

Thus, this great and gallant Prince, compelled by Neceſſity to comply, had nothing but his Labour for his Pains.

The *Dane* now remained to carry on the War alone; and though he entered into a Treaty of Peace with the *Swedes* at the ſame Time, yet the Conference came to nothing. For the *French* King ordered his Army to march out of *Weſtphalia* into *Oldenburgh*, a Country under the Juriſdiction of the *Dane*, and to lay all waſte, except he would give over the War: By which he may be more properly ſaid to command, than to make a Peace. Thus the *Daniſh* King, who had a great Soul, being under the ſame Conſtraint with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, made Peace; but with as great Indignation and Unwillingneſs as Surrenders are made. But theſe brave and gallant Princes, who, by their own Valour, were become Lords of all the North, inveighed afterwards more ſharply againſt their Allies, than againſt the Enemy, and publiſhed Memorials, in which they upbraided them with Treachery, and Breach of the Oaths they had made. But the Confederates clapt up a Peace, not only without the Conſent, but even againſt the repeated Proteſtations of their Allies. For the Elector of *Brandenburgh* proteſted by his Embaſſadors, whom he ſent to the Diet of *Ratiſbon*, by the ſacred Ties of Religion, by the Laws of Nations, of War, of Alliance, of the Empire. For it was not lawful by the Oath of Alliance, and the Diet might repeal whatever Agreement had been made; that he would bring an Army of twenty eight thouſand Men into *Germany*, in Defence of the Juriſdiction of the

the Empire: That it was baſe to accept ſuch mean and unreaſonable Conditions from an Enemy now weary of War, and almoſt conquered. The Diet deferred their Aſſent for a long Time; but they alſo were obliged at laſt to ſubmit to the arbitrary Power of Neceſſity. The ſame Prince, being inraged againſt the *Dutch*, ſent a Letter to the States to this Purpoſe: That while he beheld the calamitous Deſtruction that was made in that Part of his Dominions, which is ſituated in the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, he did not ſo much blame the Enemy, who carried on the War there, as he did deteſt his Allies, who forſook him, and on whoſe Account all theſe Things had happened to him: Who, when they knew the great Diſtreſs he was in, did not only keep back the Succours which they ought to have ſent, but made a Peace, and manifeſtly betrayed him, who was a Confederate of the War, and left him to the Mercy of the Enemy. Thus all the Weight of the War fell upon him, who would have had no Share in it, if he had not commiſerated their wretched Condition, and come to their Relief when they were periſhing. He admired their ill Conduct, in beholding his Ruin without any Concern, and appearing rather to rejoyce at it, as if this was a Recompence for all the Pains he took, and the Kindneſs he ſo ill beſtowed upon them, tho' he had, with great Labour, Danger, and Expence, ſaved them from preſent Deſtruction: That it would make him ſick to complain of all his Sufferings, purely to preſerve them from being ruined. For with what Deſolation, even in the Sight of their Forces, were the Dukedom of

Cleve,

Cleve, and the Provinces of *Weſtphalia*, the Cities of *Ravenſpurgh* and *Minden*, laid waſte, while he himſelf was engaged in far diſtant Wars in the North. That he had often complained of theſe Things by his Embaſſadors, by Letters; if he could not have any Succour from them, yet they might be his Friends and comfort him in his Affliction. That they, on the other Hand, as if they were grown more haughty and arrogant, either by their own Subtlety, or by the Diſtreſs of their Ally, nay, truly their Deliverer, had refuſed him the Honour of an Anſwer. But if mercenary Men did not know what Gratitude required, yet they could calculate Profit to a nicety. They would therefore do well to conſider with themſelves, whether it was reaſonable that he ſhould bear all the Expences of the War, in which he had involved himſelf upon no other Account than to preſerve them from utter Deſtruction. Do they not think it ſufficient, that he has been ſtript of his Territories by their Perfidiouſneſs, but as his Treaſury is exhauſted, muſt he live hereafter in extream Poverty? But that they might know he was not able to bear ſuch Indignities, his juſt Reſentment had forced theſe Letters from him againſt his Will; and that he ſhould always remember their Wiles and Subtleties. That he ſhould demand from them the Rights and ſacred Ties of that Alliance, which they had impiouſly violated: And if they did not ſubmiſſively and honourably make him ample Satisfaction, he would reſerve to himſelf, and his Poſterity, the Revenge of ſo great a Piece of Villany. In the mean Time, he beſought Almighty God to defend them

them hence-forward from the miſerable Hardſhips of War, and from hoſtile Invaſions; leaſt they ſhould learn, when it is too late, how imprudent and fooliſh it is to deceive their faithful Allies to whom they owe their Preſervation.

To this the *States* returned, the following poor and fulſome Anſwer; That with Minds full of Gratitude they called to Rememberance the great Favours they had received from his Electoral Highneſs; that they laid to Heart his preſent Caſe, as much as if it were their own: But they begged he would excuſe them for making Peace upon ſuch Terms as they had obtained, to which they were compelled by Neceſſity; that the War was a Burthen too great for them, and that the People could not bear the Charge of it: Laſtly, that if they had not accepted the Peace, other Countries would have run away with the Profits of their Trade. Therefore they aſked Forgiveneſs, and promiſed, that, for the Future, they would do their Duty to him, as good and faithful Friends. To theſe Excuſes, Anſwer was made; Is this *Dutch* Faith, to make Neceſſity a Plea for trampling upon all Laws human and divine! if ſo, what Force have Oaths? what Effect have the ſacred Ties of Religion? Why is divine Vengeance invoked, if theſe Things ceaſe to bind us, let the State and Condition of our Affairs be ever ſo hard? Why is the ſacred Bond of Religion joined to that of human Faith, but that no Room may be leſt to make an Excuſe for Treachery upon any Colour or Pretence whatever? If the Obligation of an Oath is to be rendered void, as often

often as Neceſſity may be an Excuſe for it, then truly all Oaths are of no more Validity, than Lovers Promiſes are ſaid to be. But what is this mighty Neceſſity which they mention, that all Things ſacred muſt give Place to it? They were overwhelmed, forſooth, with the Straits and Difficulties of War. As if War was any Thing elſe than the Preſſures and Infelicities of Dangers, Toils, and Taxes. Did not all the Allies labour under the ſame Neceſſity, upon no other Account than for having aſſiſted them? And if they had not determined with themſelves to undergo the worſt that could happen, there would not have been any Occaſion for them to have entered into a War. But if any of the Allies have made Neceſſity an Excuſe, it then fell the heavier upon the Reſt; for as the Number of the Allies is leſſened, the Weight of every other is thereby encreaſed.

Thus, when all the Reſt withdrew themſelves privately, all the Danger of the War, which they could neither bear nor avoid, fell upon this one Prince, and the King of *Denmark*; purely becauſe they had kept their Faith inviolable to the laſt. And thus they excuſed to the Prince, becauſe they had delivered themſelves from Danger, at the Expence of his Ruin: But indeed their great Neceſſity may be charged in the Article of Gain, for War is an Enemy to Traffick. So that when they had drawn all the World into War and Confuſion, they did not think it any Concern to them, whether Friend or Foe was ruined, provided they could thereby have a greater Opportunity of getting Money. Such a wicked Thing

Thing is Democracy, that it dares to attempt all that is baſe, without any regard to Shame or Religion: For when a Crime is in common, though all are in Fault, yet take them ſingly, and every one is innocent, every one is unwilling that the Thing ſhould be done, but the better Part is ſwayed by the Greater. Otherwiſe, how could it come to paſs, that when their Country was almoſt loſt, all *Europe* took up Arms, entering into an Alliance, and never to recede from it, till every Thing ſhould be reſtored, and made whole again; and an Oath was given, that not one of them ſhould make Peace without the common Conſent of them all: Yet the *Dutch*, when they ſaw they were ſafe enough, by the Hardſhips that other Men have undergone upon their Account, were the very firſt, who deſerted their Allies, involved in War upon their Account only. But by their Treachery it happened, that the Neceſſity, which they falſely pretended, did in reality fall upon the Reſt. For without their Aſſiſtance the *Spaniard* was not able to carry on the War in *Flanders*: Nor could the Emperor, who was pulled in Pieces by the War in *Hungary*, ſupport both Wars, except he was ſuccoured by the *Dutch* and the *Spaniard*. Since, therefore, they were compelled to agree with the Enemy, all the other Allies were diſcouraged, and they that remained firm, were ſo much in the Power of the Enemy, that they were obliged to take whatever Terms he offered: And he commanded them to reſtore to the Conquered, no leſs than the Rewards of all their Conqueſts, which was every Thing they had taken. Thus theſe two illuſtrious Gene-

rals, by the irreſiſtible Force of Neceſſity, quitted the War with invincible Minds, but wounded with Indignation.

This was the common Treachery which they ſhewed to all the Confederates, but their Baſeneſs to the *Spaniard* in particular was much greater. For whereas by the Articles of Peace, *Maeſtricht* was to have been delivered to the *Spaniard*, the *Dutch* having firſt made Peace, procured this Town to be delivered to them by the *French*. The *Spaniard* demands it as his Right by Compact, but they were deaf to all he ſaid: However, after an obſtinate Silence of ten Months, and, as if they had been laſhed into an Anſwer, they replyed, that great Sums of Money were due to them, from the *Spaniard*, on Account of the late Expedition to *Meſſina*; and beſides, that there was a vaſt Sum that was not yet paid to the Prince of *Orange*, which had been promiſed to his Anceſtors by the *Spaniard*, at the Treaty of *Munſter*. To this the King of *Spain* anſwered, that it was not conſiſtent with the Faith and Dignity of Alliances, to abrogate their Obligation by Matters ſo remote, and which concerned other Men. If this was ſuffered to paſs, then all Treaties were of no Effect: For there was no Form of Government whatever, but now has, or formerly had, ſome Accounts with their Neighbours, not yet fully adjuſted. But he was ſo far from being chargeable with not paying the Money, that he had voluntarily paid the Prince a yearly Penſion of fifty thouſand Crowns, and had given him an hundred thouſand at the Return of every Plate-Fleet; and would, if he pleaſed, agree to give it him ſtill.

ſtill. If any Arrears remained on Account of the Expedition, let them deliver their Accounts, and he would clear them off; and laſtly, he adviſes them, not to endeavour to make void, and of no Effect, the ſacred Obligations of Alliances, by ſuch ludicrous and trifling Pretences. To this they gave ſome Anſwer, which never was made publick: But whatever it was, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador proteſted againſt their Partiality in this Affair, with the greateſt Indignation, before his Departure. And as it is the Cuſtom of all Nations to make an handſome Preſent to Embaſſadors, when they take their Leave; he having, with the utmoſt Scorn and Contempt, deſpiſed their Preſent, devoted thoſe Alliance-breakers and their Money together, to the juſt Vengeance of God.

But that the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was one of the firſt that came into the Alliance, ſhould be excluded from the Benefit of the Peace, is a Thing the moſt of all to be lamented, and, indeed, the fouleſt Blot upon the Confederacy. For this great Man diſdained even to hearken to any Terms of Peace, unleſs the Dominions of his Family were reſtored. For, as by the Peace ſtruck between the Emperor and the King of *France*, they agreed, that his Dukedom ſhould be reſtored to him, except *Nancy*, which is the Capital of *Lorrain*, and the Duke's Seat; and was to remain as Part of the *French* Dominions; and alſo, that Roads ſhould be made half a League wide, from *France* to *Nancy*, and from *Nancy* to *Germany*, and theſe too ſhould be under the Command of the *French* King only. By which Articles the Duke muſt re-

ceive an Enemy into the Heart of his Country, ſtrongly fortified, and lay it open to the Invaſions of the *French*. For if an Enemy ſhould offer to march that Way, it would not, by the Articles of Peace, be in his Power to ſtop them. The Duke, with the Indignation of a Heroe, ſaid, Do they think that he would give up any Part of the princely Dignity of his Anceſtors? he choſe rather never to ſee his Country. And he declared, by his Embaſſadors, that he had rather be ſtript of all his Dominions, than to leave that maimed and diminiſhed to his Poſterity, which he had received from his Anceſtors ſound and whole. That a Kingdom, which depended upon the Will of another, was very precarious, and altogether Tributary: That ſuch Terms ſo unreaſonable were never offered to, or accepted by any, but Perſons in Deſpair. He therefore frequently proteſted againſt the Peace to the Emperor, to the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, and to the imperial Diet: And when the Articles of Peace were ſigned and exchanged, his Embaſſador, being then preſent at the Congreſs, publickly proteſted againſt it by a Memorial.

Thus, this great Prince, with equal Moderation and Magnanimity, choſe rather to ſuffer a glorious Exile, than accept an inglorious Dominion. But to a Man, who has ſo large a Soul, all the World is not only his Country, but his Kingdom. To a gallant Man his Sword is his *Scepter*, his Helmet his Crown, and his Breaſt his Life-guard. For what King ever lived in higher Honour, or with greater Glory? whoſe Power ſhone more bright than his? or who excelled him in heroick Actions? The

Preſervation

Preſervation of Chriſtendom depended ſo much upon him, that if he did not obtain, yet he ſeemed to have merited the Empire of *Europe*. For it was ſo ordered, thro' the Providence of God, that by the Misfortune of one Man, all *Europe* ſhould be ſaved, and perhaps reſcued from perpetual Bondage: For he brought the *Ottoman* Power to ſo low an Ebb, that it cannot be any Terrour to *Europe* for the Future. Thus by loſing his Dominions he became a greater Prince; for it is much more Princely to ſave many Kingdoms, than to govern one.

Laſtly, His ſingular Moderation, Conduct, and Courage, gave him the Preference of all the Kings of *Europe*: As a Prince truly *Catholick*, the moſt *Chriſtian*, and moſt invincible Defender of the Faith.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

7 DE61

7 DE 61

PARKER's
HISTORY
OF
His Own Time.
BOOK II.

Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

Biſhop PARKER's

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

BOOK III.

OF all the Confederates, the Prince of *Orange* was the only Man, who reaped any Advantage by the Wars. For whereas he was put out, by the *Loveſtein* Conſpiracy, not only from the ſupreme Power, which his Anceſtors had enjoyed, but was alſo removed from the Adminiſtration of all Affairs in the Commonwealth, he did hereby recover the ſame Dignity, and indeed greater, than his illuſtrious Family had poſſeſſed. *Wil-*

liam the Second, the Father of this Prince, (who had been baptized by the Name of *William*, becauſe that had been his Father's Name,) being twenty four Years old, was ſnatched away by an untimely Death, in the Year 1650, and not without Suſpicion of Poiſon. For when the republican Faction, in the Province of *Holland*, endeavoured to deprive him of his Authority, he ſuddenly ſeized upon the City of *Amſterdam*, at the latter End of *July*, and put the Ringleaders of the Conſpiracy into a Priſon, called *Loveſtein*, from which Place the Faction took its Name; and ſoon after, that is, in the Beginning of *October*, died of the Small Pox. I will not preſume to determine, whether he was poiſoned, or died a natural Death, ſince Princes oftentimes are too raſhly ſaid to be taken off by Poiſon. By his Death the Conſpirators obtained their Liberty, and having no Body to oppoſe their Deſigns, haſtened to put their Projects in Execution. The Prince died when his Wife was big with Child; and being delivered of a Son, they reſolved to accompliſh their Deſigns before he grew up, and eſpecially before he came to Maturity. The firſt Thing they did, while he was in ſwadling Cloths, was to enter into an Alliance with *Cromwell*, chiefly upon this Condition, that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould not be reſtored to the Honours of his Anceſtors; and the *States* immediately made a Decree, whereby they took from him the Title of *Highneſs*. Then they took down the Colours, Standards, and all the Trophies of War, which his Anceſtors had taken from the Enemy, and which had been put up in all the publick Places of

of every City, that there might not remain any Token or Footſtep of the glorious Actions of the Houſe of *Orange*. But the King of *Great-Britain* returning through *Holland*, in the Year 1660, to his paternal Dominions, made Interceſſion to the States in behalf of his Nephew; who, feigning a Conſent, promiſed to reſtore him to the ſame Dignity and Honour, which his Anceſtors enjoyed, as ſoon as he ſhould attain the eighteenth Year of his Age. The Prince's Mother returning with her Brothers into her own Country, committed her Son to the Care and Education of *John de Wits*, hoping thereby to lay an Obligation upon the principal Man of the Faction, by the Glory and Honour of ſo great a Truſt. In the Year 1666, a War broke out between the *Dutch* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and thereupon a Diſpute aroſe, who ſhould be General of the *Dutch* Forces.

The other Provinces (eſpecially *Zeland*, who had always ſhewed an inviolable Attachment to the Houſe of *Orange*,) agreed to confer the Title and Honour of General upon the Prince, who was then ſixteen Years old, though they did not think fit to entruſt him with the Command of the Army, by reaſon of his Age. The Province of *Holland* was the only one that ſtood out againſt it, who being more powerful than all the Reſt, would have the Command given to *Turenne*, a moſt experienced General, but a Foreigner.

The next Year being pretty far advanced, the Prince drawing to the Age of Eighteen, they publiſhed an Edict, which was called *perpetual*, to abrogate the Poſts and Places of *Auguſt*, 1667.

the Houſe of *Orange*, which were three in Number.

The chief Authority in the Commonwealth, and the chief Commands in War, both by Sea and Land, which they held during Life.

The *States* were to have the Diſpoſal of theſe Places; no Man was to enjoy them for Life, or any one Perſon to be entruſted with them all, but each of them ſhould be filled up ſingly.

This Decree was ratified by an Oath, which every one was obliged to take before he could have any Share in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs; and by this they for ever diveſted the Houſe of *Orange* of all Authority. When they ſaw that the People were enraged at ſo great an Affront, they allowed the Prince a Seat in their *general Aſſemblies*, that they might tye him down by the ſame Oath. *Zeland* reſenting the ſaucy Behavour of the *Hollanders* to ſo great a Prince, voluntarily conferred upon him the Right of Precedency among the Nobility of that Province; by which he obtained the ſupreme Power as well in that Province, as in the general Aſſembly of the *States*.

September, 1668.

It afterwards happened, that in the Year 1672, that the *French* King marched into the Borders of the United Provinces, and had ſuddenly, and beyond Expectation penetrated into the Heart of that Country. For he took thoſe Cities in one or two Days, (as I may ſay) which the *Hollanders* had beſieged ſeveral Years before they took them from the *Spaniard*. He was amazed at his own Conqueſts, and could ſcarce give Credit to what he had done; nor did he ſeem to come to engage an Enemy, but rather

rather to take a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Country. And indeed it was a Thing not to be wondered at: For the Conſpirators (who at that Time had the Adminiſtration of Affairs) deferred to raiſe Forces, leaſt the chief Command ſhould be given to the Prince of *Orange*. Afterwards, in treating of Peace with the *French* King, they ſpent ſo much time about Trifles, that ſpurning at their own Terms, he made a ſudden Irruption, with a great Army, into their Country, before they could make themſelves ready for War. Their Fortifications were half ruined by the Continuance of a long Peace, their Magazines not half ſtored, their Forces raw and unexperienced, undiſciplined and not accuſtomed to military Exerciſe; neither had they Men enough to guard the Poſts, which they were ordered to defend.

But it happened to be very fatal to the *Dutch*, that being at that time in War with the *Engliſh* by Sea, they had embarqued all their beſt Troops on board their Fleet; for they were more ambitious of Dominion at Sea than at Land. But their greateſt ill Conduct was, that they had no General to command their Army; ſo that all Things were in Confuſion, no Orders obſerved, or any Thing done with Judgement. The other Provinces, being alarmed at theſe Proceedings, demanded the Prince of *Orange* for their General. *Holland* alone ſtood out a long Time; but being at laſt over-powered, admitted him into the Honour of that Command, but under this Reſtriction, that he ſhould have four Tutors, choſen out of themſelves, in whom all the Power ſhould be inveſted. The Prince accepted the Command,

ſuch

ſuch as it was, and haſtened to the Army; and, upon a general Muſter, it appeared that their Forces were not above ſeventeen thouſand in Number; at which time the *French* had laid cloſe Siege to the City *Weſel*. The Governour deſired a Reinforcement from the new General, he referred the Matter to his Tutors: But they being unexperienced in military Affairs, durſt not preſume to do any Thing raſhly of themſelves, and therefore they laid that Affair before the States. In the mean Time, the City was taken.

Thus when the *French* had, in three Months, taken all their Fortreſſes upon the Borders, and was ready to invade their inland Towns, which were leſs fortified; the *Hollanders* commanded the Army to march back to defend their own Province, as if they deſpaired of the Reſt, or cared not what befel them. The People, ſeeing the Deſtruction of their Country, roſe up in Tumults, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes. They flocked together in all Places, framing ſtrange Things in their Minds; the Women bewailed like mad Folks, and the married Women ran about the Streets with diſhevelled Hair, and uplifted Hands: In ſhort, there was a general Clamour againſt the Magiſtracy, and the People were enraged at their Management, which was ſo remiſs. Among theſe, the *de Wits*, two Brothers, ſuffered moſt, who had long uſurped the whole Adminiſtration. *John*, the elder Brother, taking upon him the Power of a Dictator, propoſed to himſelf to accompliſh four Things: *Firſt*, to give the *Engliſh* ſuch an Overthrow at Sea, that for the Time to come, they ſhould not preſcribe to, but receive

Laws

Laws from the *Dutch*: *Secondly*, that the Houſe of *Orange* ſhould be deprived of all Authority: *Thirdly*, that *Holland* ſhould rule the other ſix United Provinces; and *Fourthly*, that every thing in *Holland* ſhould be at his Diſpoſal; whereupon he was nick-named King of *Holland*. As he had firſt determined that *England* ſhould be deſtroyed, ſo the Wars againſt the *Engliſh* at Sea, in the Years 1665, and 1666, were chiefly carried on by his Advice, and at his Inſtigation; and it was principally by his Contrivance and Management, that in the Year following the Piracy at *Chatham* was committed: Nor would he enter into a Treaty of Peace with the *Engliſh*, until the moſt *Chriſtian* King having conquered the Provinces in *Flanders*, began to threaten the *Hollanders*. But the Storm being blown over, he now meditated nothing but the Deſtruction of *England*. To this End, he privately ſent an Embaſſador to the *French* King, whoſe Name was *Nombas*, and ſollicited him to join his Fleet with the *Dutch*, and make a ſudden Expedition to *England*. But his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty was ſo provoked at this diſhonourable Propoſal, that he diſcovered the whole Matter to King *Charles*. This gave Birth to the Alliance between the two Kings; when afterwards, in the Year 1672, the one attacked the *Dutch* by Sea, and the other by Land. By this War an End was put to the Reign of the two *de Wits*: For the People being every Day incenſed to a Degree of Madneſs, at the frequent Conqueſts of the *French*, laid all the Blame upon thoſe two Brothers. Firſt, four young Men, raſhly brave, conſpired to aſſaſſinate *John de Wits*, and as he

he returned from Council on the 21ſt Day of *June*, about eleven o'Clock at Night, they ſet upon him, and ſtabbed him in ſo many Places, that, as if they had done his Buſineſs, they ſhifted for themſelves. Three of them eſcaped, but the fourth, whoſe Name was *James de Graef*, was taken and beheaded; and he died with great Preſence of Mind. But though *de Wits* had received many Wounds, yet none of them proved mortal, and at laſt he recovered, but not without much Difficulty. In the mean Time, there was another Conſpiracy againſt his Brother *Cornelius*. *William Ticklaer*, a Surgeon by his Profeſſion, and formerly one of the moſt ſeditious among all the Faction, diſcovered, either voluntarily, or was hired to do it, to the Prince of *Orange*'s prime Miniſter, that *Cornelius* had offered him great Rewards to kill the Prince. This Fellow was a Man of no Reputation, and one of the vileſt Creatures among all the Populace: Nevertheleſs, (ſuch is the Madneſs of Tumults, and ſo ready are they to give Ear to any Thing,) that upon the Information of this one Man, he was caſt into Priſon at the *Hague*, indicted for this Piece of Villany, and received Sentence of Baniſhment. But the Populace were incenſed at the Lenity of his Puniſhment, and nothing but his Death could ſatisfy them: Wherefore, that he might not eſcape alive, they ſurrounded the Priſon. It happened that his Brother *John* came to viſit him, in order to Conduct him beyond the Fields of the Town, towards the Place of his Baniſhment. The Tumult laſted ſome Hours; at laſt they broke open the Priſon-Doors, and the Towns Men going

going up to the Bedchamber, dragged and kicked the two Brothers down Stairs, and bringing them into the Street, ſtabbed them in a thouſand Places. Nor did their Death ſatisfy the mean-ſpirited Revenge of the Rabble, and therefore they muſt be expoſed to Contempt. Their naked Bodies were hung upon a Gibbet; then they tore them to Pieces, which they ſold for a good Price; then taking out their Bowels, they diſtend their Bodies in the ſame Manner as Butchers do Cattle when they dreſs them. Some there were, who roaſted ſome Pieces of their Fleſh, and eat them greedily: And it was ſaid, that an Inhabitant having got one of their Hearts, ſalted it, and invited his Friends to partake of that Banquet. Thus they made a ſavage Feaſt of thoſe two unfortunate Brothers, whom they had, for ſome Years, adored as Gods, not out of Revenge, (for perhaps there may ſeem to be I know not what Sort of Greatneſs and Generoſity in that Vice) but out of Mockery.

But as the Populace are naturally greedy of Change, whether right or wrong, ſo it often happens that Tumults bring Things about for the better. Thus when their Revenge, or rather their riotous Inhumanity was ſatisfied upon theſe Traytors, theſe furious People began to look back upon, and to favour the Prince of *Orange*, threatening vehemently not to deſiſt, before he was raiſed to the Dignity of his Anceſtors. The firſt Effort was made in *Dort*, which City, as it had formerly bore an implacable Hatred to the Houſe of *Orange*, ſo it was now the firſt that exerted its ſelf in his Favour; demanding that the *perpetual Edict* ſhould

be repealed, and the Prince be chief Governour.

Harlem followed this Example, *Delft* next, then *Leyden*, afterwards *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam*, the principal Cities in the Province. Theſe compelled the *States* to repeal the *perpetual Edict*, and to make another, whereby it ſhould be lawful for the Prince to enjoy his ancient Dignity, and have Power to remove what Magiſtrates he pleaſed from any Offices. Thus, with much Difficulty, the Tumults in every City were appeaſed, and the ſupreme Power was lodged in the Prince of *Orange*, not only for Life, but made hereditary in his Family for ever. Thus, at the Concluſion of the War, the Prince was the greateſt Conqueror, next to the *French* King: And God grant that he may long and handſomely enjoy that Government, which he obtained through ſo many Battles and Dangers.

Beſides the great Havock which the Wars made in *Europe*, occaſioned by breaking the Tripple Alliance, there were other very heavy Calamities, and principally theſe three: The Incurſion of the *Turks* and *Tartars* into *Poland*; the Revolt of *Meſſina* from *Spain*; and the Rebellion of *Hungary* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and by each of theſe *Europe* was in very great Danger. Firſt, when the *Barbarians* obſerved, that almoſt all the *Chriſtian* Princes were at War with one or other, they judged this to be a proper Time to invade *Poland*, which, as it had been for many Ages a Bulwark againſt their Attempts, ſo if they conquered it, there would be an eaſy Inroad into all *Europe*. At this time *Poland* was in a bad

a bad Condition: For the King was weak, and rendered uncapable of managing the Reins of Government; the Nobility were divided into Factions; no Money in the Treaſury; and laſtly, no Aſſiſtance to be expected from any Prince: However, the great *Sobieski*, General of the Army, ſupplyed every Thing by his own Fortune, Conduct, and Bravery. It happened, (if I may go back a little to mention the Actions of ſo great a Man,) that in the Year 1667, the *Tartars* and *Coſſacks* entering into *Poland*, laid every Thing waſte, deſtroyed Man, Woman, and Child, and burnt every Town and City they came at; for this is the Cuſtom which thoſe Barbarians uſe in War. *Sobieski* met them with an handful of Men, but was preſently ſurrounded by the Enemy, whoſe Hoſt was very numerous; cut off from Proviſions, beſieged by the Enemy, and by Famine, having no Hopes in Flight, ſcarce any in coming to an Engagement, and little to be expected from Courage. Yet this Man, who had an invincible Soul, advanced (as it was always his Cuſtom) at the Head of his Troops, and broke in upon the Enemy with ſuch Force, that being put into Diſorder, he routed them, and made great Havock amongſt them: By this he ſtruck ſuch a Terrour into the Enemy, that they preſently begged him to make Peace with them upon Terms very honourable for *Poland*. But in the Year 1672, while the Reſt of *Europe* was inflamed with War, the *Turk* entered ſuddenly and unexpectedly into *Poland*, and took by Surrender, after a Siege of twelve Days, *Caminieck*, the Metropolis and Key of upper *Podolia*, which

they had often attempted, but never could make themſelves Maſters of before. At this time the General *Sobieski* had made an Expedition againſt the *Tartars*, who regard no Treaties, and routed them with great Slaughter; for twelve thouſand of the Enemy were killed on the Field of Battle. Before his Return, *Michael*, King of *Poland*, clapped up a Peace with the *Turk* and *Tartar* upon the moſt ignominious Terms; he obliged himſelf to pay to each of them an annual Tribute; he delivered up a great Part of *Ukrain*, and all *Podolia* to the Enemy. At this News *Sobieski* raged and ſtormed, and marched the Army with all Expedition near to the Court of the timorous King: And he deſired in the Diet, that the baſe and ſcandalous Peace might be cancelled. For, ſays he, it is not to be ſuffered that the Majeſty of that invincible Kingdom ſhould be tributary to any one, much leſs to the Enemies of *Chriſtendom*: And if the States of the Kingdom would furniſh him with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, he would drive both the *Barbarians* out of every Part of *Poland*. In the mean Time, he marched with a ſmall Number of Troops; and when Intelligence was brought, that the Enemy was encamped on the other Side the *Boriſthenes*, with forty thouſand Men, and that an Army much more numerous would ſoon march out of *Aſia*, he paſſed over that great River with all Expedition, and attacked the *Barbarians* in their Camp. The Battle was, for a long time, hot and doubtful, the Enemy being vaſtly ſuperiour in Number; but at laſt they were routed, and almoſt an univerſal Slaughter made among them: For they

they that eſcaped the Sword, periſhed in the River; for out of forty thouſand, not above five thouſand were left alive. By this one Victory he conquered both Armies; for that which was marching out of *Aſia*, being informed of this total Defeat, ſhamefully retreated. In the Height of this Victory, News was brought of King *Michael*'s Death, which ſeemed to be a Reward of his Conduct and Courage, and an Omen of his greater Fortune, having by this ſingular Piece of Service merited the Crown. In purſuance of this, the States elected him King in the Month of *May*, in the Year following; he being then fifty one Years of Age: And not waiting for the Solemnity of his Coronation, he marched towards the Enemy. But the Nobles and Senators, though they had promiſed to augment his Army to ſixty thouſand Men, yet being miſerably divided into Factions, did not perform their Promiſe. However, the King marched to the Borders, at the Head of ſixteen thouſand Men to meet the Enemy; but they not appearing, he retook that Winter many of the Towns and Cities in *Ukrain* and *Podolia*, which had been yielded up to the *Barbarians*. In the Beginning of the next Year, the Enemy made an Irruption with an Army of two hundred thouſand Men, and firſt aſſaulted *Slencek* with ſixty thouſand: But being repulſed with great Loſs, marched towards *Lemberg*; into which City the King had brought his Queen and his Children, to keep up the Courage of the People. He pitched his Camp in a convenient Place, a Mile diſtant from the City, and laid ſeveral Ambuſhes in the adjacent Woods and Thickets; leaving nothing

thing undone with was conſiſtent with the Conduct of a General. He had not above four thouſand Men in the open Field, and with theſe he waited for the Enemy to come up. When they began to advance, he exhorted and encouraged the Soldiers to conquer or dye with him; and the Signal of Battle being given, calling three times upon the Name of *Jeſus*, he led them on. The *Barbarians*, aſtoniſhed partly at the Warmth and Vigour with which they fought, and giving way to thoſe who came out of their Ambuſh, though at the firſt Onſet they fought couragiouſly, yet they were put into ſuch Diſorder, not only in the Front, but on the Flanks, that many thouſands being killed, the Reſt fled in ſuch Confuſion, that they did not ſtop till they retired into their own Camp. Some Days after, Succours came to *Lemberg* from the Dutchy of *Lithuania*; and the King purſued the Enemy with the longeſt Marches he could make, and an Army of fifteen thouſand Men, having left the Reſt to garriſon the Cities. The *Barbarians* had beſieged *Buckzaes*; but receiving Intelligence that the King advanced towards them, they ſuddenly raiſed the Siege, and retiring to *Trembowl*, inveſted that Town. The King ſent Letters to the Governour, wherein he told him, that he would haſten to his Relief; but the Meſſenger being taken, and the Letters intercepted, upon reading them, ſuch a Terrour ran through the Camp, that marching in great Diſorder, much like to a general Rout, the *Tartars* guarding them on one Side, they retired towards *Caminieck*. They did not halt till they had fled fifteen Leagues, nor did they think

think themſelves ſafe till they had encamped within the Fortifications of *Caminieck*, and within Cannon-ſhot. But this did not prove any Obſtacle to the Purſuit; for the King, by his long Marches, haſtened towards *Caminieck*; at the News of which, the *Turk*, leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in that City, marched his affrighted Army over the *Boriſthenes*. The King of *Poland* falling upon their Rear, made great Havock among them; but the *Turks* fled with indefatigable Expedition before him, and did not halt, till they had paſſed the *Danube*. The King took the Bridge which they had laid over the *Boriſthenes*, and made himſelf Maſter of five hundred Money-Waggons, and others laden with all Sorts of Furniture, and Proviſion, which he gave as Plunder to his Soldiers. Thus the Campaign being ſo ſucceſsfully ended, he marched his Army into Winter-Quarters; though indeed it does not ſeem to have been ſo properly a War as a Chace. To put ſixty thouſand Men to Flight with a handful of four thouſand, was a Thing ſcarce ever heard; and then to drive above one hundred and fifty thouſand before him, like frighted Sheep, with a ſmall Army of ſixteen thouſand, is wonderful: To which we may add, his raiſing two ſuch great Sieges, and driving the Enemy to a præcipitate Flight, by the Terrour of his Arms. For my Part, I do not remember that ſuch a glorious Enterprize was ever performed by thoſe ancient Generals, whom *Greece* reverenced, and *Rome* ſo much admired.

In the Beginning of next Spring, the King was crowned; and about the Middle of Summer, the *Turks* and *Tartars* entered *Poland* with 1676.

with vaſt Numbers. The King marched up to them with a ſmall Army, deſpiſing an Enemy whom he had often put to flight, and routed an hundred and fifty thouſand, having made great Havock among them. The *Turk*, being diſpirited at ſuch great and repeated Loſſes, ſent Embaſſadors to ſue for Peace; the King granted them moſt honourable Terms: *Firſt*, that the laſt Peace with King *Michael* ſhould be null and void: *Secondly*, that *Ukrain*, and all *Podolia*, except *Caminieck*, ſhould be reſtored to the *Poles*: *Thirdly*, that there ſhould be a *Chartel* for exchange of Priſoners: *Fourthly*, that there ſhould be a free Exerciſe of the Chriſtian Religion, in all the Places, granted to the *Turk* by this Treaty: *Fifthly*, that the *Turk* ſhould renounce all his Right to the Tribute agreed to be given by the laſt Treaty: *Sixthly*, that there ſhould be a defenſive League between them againſt all who ſhould attack them: And *laſtly*, that the holy Sepulchre ſhould be reſtored to the *Chriſtians*.

The *Poles* never made Peace with the *Turk*, upon more honourable Terms. Every Thing being now in a perfect Tranquillity, the King, a few Years after, (1679) when he obſerved that the Wars among the *Chriſtian* Princes were ended, ſent Embaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, inviting them to come into a general Alliance againſt the common Enemy of *Chriſtianity*. He had ſuch an Antipathy to the Infidels, and ſo much Zeal to the Chriſtian Faith, that he ſeemed to be ſent into the World on purpoſe to reſcue *Europe* from the ſhameful Tyranny of the *Mahometans*. What Progreſs his Embaſſadors made, I have not heard; but

but this Affair was not brought to Perfection, (by whoſe Ambition and Treachery it was prevented, I will not ſay) till the *Turk* furiouſly invading *Hungary*, and threatening common 1683.
Danger to moſt of them, proved the Means of accompliſhing what the *Polander* could not Effect. King *Sobieski*, as if he rejoyced at this Opportunity, took up Arms with more than uſual Alacrity; but what, and how many great Things he did, ſhall be fairly related, when I come to treat of Count *Teckeli*'s War, wherein he had the greateſt Share in the Victory; whoſe Terrour contributed as much to the Enemy's Overthrow, as his Bravery. For when News was ſpread abroad that he was to be Captain-General, his very Name made them tremble; in whatever Part of the Battle he engaged, he had ſuch a martial Countenance, and Eyes ſo piercing, that the Enemy could not bear to look upon him. His Preſence alone put them to flight; and it gave him and the other Generals no ſmall Uneaſineſs, that after ſo many long Marches, they obtained a Victory with ſo much Eaſe.

The Courage of the Infidels ſunk ſo low from that Time, that (I hope) it will be no hard Matter to vanquiſh them for the Future. The *Ottoman* Empire never was ſo near to Deſtruction before; and if this great Defender and Supporter of *Chriſtianity* has the ſame Succeſs this Year, as he had the laſt, it is to be hoped, 1685.
that *Mahometiſm* will be driven out of *Europe*, and the *Turkiſh* Empire, being ſhaken by its own Weight, periſh in its own Ruins. Theſe Affairs of *Poland* were occaſioned by the Breach of the Tripple Alliance.

From the ſame Cauſe a Rebellion ſprung up in *Sicily*, which ſwallowed up a Multitude of Souls: For the King of *Spain* carrying on a War both in *Flanders* and *Catalonia*, and having bad Succeſs, the City of *Meſſina* revolted, either voluntarily, or by Encouragement from abroad. This City had more Power and Authority than any in the Iſland; it was fortified with four Fortreſſes, and fourteen Forts, ſituated upon the Sea coaſt, a Place of great Mart, rich in Trade, and had a very large Haven, and many Ships. The Conſpiracy firſt broke out in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1674, which was ſtrengthened (as is uſual in every Rebellion) by Sacrilege, ſpoiling the Churches of all their Furniture: And afterwards followed the Murder of one hundred and ſixty Perſons of noble Families, for no other Reaſon than the Hatred and Envy which the Rebels bore to Nobility. The next Thing they did was to lay their Neighbours under Contribution, and to oblige all the Inhabitants, within ſixteen Leagues, to furniſh them with Bread-Corn. They imported great Quantities of warlike Stores, and ſent Embaſſadors to all the Princes Courts round about them, to deſire Aſſiſtance; and tranſacted every Thing both at home and abroad, as if they had been a free Commonwealth, and were at their own Diſpoſal. The *French* ſent Succours to them immediately, and making a Deſcent, joined their Forces with thoſe of the City, and took all the walled Towns that were near them: But being blocked up by Sea and Land by the *Spaniard*, they were almoſt ſtarved, during the Winter. In the following Spring the *French* Fleet arrived with great

great Store of Proviſions, and the *Spaniard* challenged them to an Engagement; but the *French* proving to be an Over-match for them, made themſelves Maſters of the Port, though not without great Slaughter on both Sides. At this the Inhabitants greatly rejoyced, not only becauſe the Fleet had brought them ſtrong Relief, but alſo Plenty of all Things, at a Time when they were ready to ſtarve. The Queen-Mother, who at that Time governed *Spain*, being much incenſed hereat, impriſoned the principal Officers of the Fleet, and the Vice-Roy of the Iſland. In *March* a Plague broke out in the City, and ſpread itſelf over the whole Iſland, which ſwept away ſo many Soldiers, that there were not enough left for a Battle. Upon this, new Fleets arrived from each Side, and the *Spaniard* requires Aſſiſtance by Land from the *Germans*, and by Sea from the *Dutch*. The Merchants, who of all Men are the moſt greedy of Lucre, tranſported Corn from every Country into the City, becauſe it there bore a good Price: But when the King of *England* heard this, he iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding all his Subjects to have any Commerce with the Rebels; declaring, that he would not, contrary to the Laws of Nations, and the ſacred Ties of Alliance, ſuffer any of his People to ſuccour a foreign Rebellion; and that, as far as it lay in his Power, he would inflict the ſame Puniſhment upon thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt them, as if they had rebelled againſt himſelf. This was a Proclamation worthy of a King; for it is the common Cauſe of every Monarch, to reduce the Rebels of any other Prince to their Duty and Obedience. The

Troops on both Sides being greatly reinforced, ſpent the whole Summer in Skirmiſhes, and mutual Sieges; and the Fortune of War was, for the moſt Part, doubtful, except, that it ſeemed a little to favour the *French*: For they took the City *Auguſta* by Surprize, the *Spaniards* having at that time been ſeparated by a Storm, all their Ships ſhattered, and ſeven ſunk; but at the latter End of the Year, *Ruyter* ſailed to their Aſſiſtance, by Order of the *States General*. In the Beginning of the next Year, the *French* Fleet appeared, and an Engagement following, with equal Loſs on both Sides, except that, as the People of *Meſſina* had ſuffered, for a long Time, great Hardſhips for Want of Proviſions, the *French* brought Ships into their Harbour, laden with Corn. But though this could not be called a Victory, yet it was much better, becauſe they ſupplyed the City with Proviſions, whereby they were delivered from all the Straits of a Siege. *Ruyter* being diſguſted at the *Spaniards*, ſailed away; but by Command of the *States* he returned in a few Days, and blocked up the City by Sea, while the *Spaniard* blocked it by Land. In the Month of *April*, the Year following, there was an Engagement at Sea with the *French*, which was fought with great Slaughter; and *Ruyter* died ſoon after, at *Syracuſa*, of the Wounds he had received. Thus it fortunately happened to this gallant Man, that by his Death he ſhould compleat the Glories of his former Life, ſince he died in a juſt War againſt Rebels, after he had performed ſo many brave Actions in Honour of his Country. The *French* attacking ſuddenly the *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* Fleets, deſtroyed

deſtroyed moſt of them: Three Admiral-Ships, ſeven others, and ſix Tranſports were burnt: And when the *Dutch* returned home, the *French* made a Deſcent upon the Iſland, and took moſt of the walled Towns. Thus they continued the War with various Succeſs, till the Year 1678, when having ſuddenly received Orders from the *French* King, commanding them to return; they embarked every Thing on Board the Fleet, pretending, that they had ſome great Enterprize in Hand, which was to be put in Execution with all their Forces: And having done this, they imparted their Orders to the Citizens; who, being ſtripped of their Support, trembled, and were as in great Confuſion, as if the Enemy had taken and ſacked the Town. Many went on Board the *French* Fleet, and they were ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment. Many others, ſeized with a panick Fear, went away naked and poor to *Venice*, and other Sea-ports of *Italy*; but to theſe, the Vice-roy (a very prudent Man) gave Leave to return to their Goods and Properties. Thus, after a War of five Years, in which much Blood was ſpilt throughout the whole Iſland, all Things were reduced to their former State and Condition. The Cauſe of this ſudden Change was the ſame with all the Reſt; for the *French* King did not enter into a Treaty of Peace in earneſt, until the King of *England* joined this Year with the Confederates for the Defence of *Flanders*: He raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, and fitted out a Fleet of ninety Sail. Theſe, at the King's Requeſt, were allowed by Parliament, and they unanimouſly promiſed to grant his Majeſty large Supplies, during the Continuance of the War.

This

This News mollified the *French* King's Obſtinacy; for he now ſaw that he was over-powered by the Enemy; and though he did not fear all *Europe* beſides, yet he muſt ſubmit to *Britiſh* Valour. Upon this a Peace was concluded in a very little Time with the *Dutch* and the *Spaniard*; for as the King of *England* had entered into an Alliance with them only, he had nothing farther to do with the War. He therefore being taken off, the *French* King (as I have ſaid) obliged the other Confederates to accept ſuch Terms, as he was pleaſed to grant. And tho' he had ſent a freſh Army into *Sicily*, about the Time that the King of *England* proclaimed War againſt him, which were upon the Point of putting his Orders in Execution, yet in a Moment he gave up all the Benefit of his Labour and Expence, after he had ſent out ſo many Fleets, and brought ſo many Armies into the Field; after he had provided ſuch vaſt Quantities of Proviſion, and had come to ſo many Engagements by Sea and Land for the Space of five Years. For as the King of *England* was his Enemy, he would not venture his Fleet too far from his own Coaſts. This is certain, that the Fate of *Europe* did then depend upon the King of *England* alone, and he gave Peace or War, as he pleaſed. *Europe* enjoyed a profound Peace and Tranquillity ſo long as he thought fit to continue the Tripple Alliance; but when he receded from that, a War flamed out every where, and there was ſcarce a Country, except *England*, free from it: So that the *French* King, for ſix Years together, carried on a War with infinite Loſs of Men, being a Match for all the Reſt. The King of *England* offered

to

to be a Mediator and Arbitrator of Peace, when he found that an End could not otherwiſe be put to the War. The *French* King conſented to this; but trifled away three Years in fooliſh Demands, made by his Embaſſadors: And all that he did was to prevent, as much as he could, the Treaty from taking Effect. The King of *England*, grown weary of ſuch Delay, and ſuch *Chicanery*, threatened to proclaim War againſt him, if he would not come into pacifick Meaſures; and what he threatened, he bravely performed, by ſending Part of his Army into *Flanders*. Upon this, all Delay was cut off, and the Peace, which the *French* King had ſo long deferred, was accepted by him, upon the hardeſt Terms; for he was obliged to reſtore all the Places he had taken in the War.

Great-Britain is ſo happily ſituated by Nature, that it may give Laws not only at home, but abroad; for as it abounds with numerous and very commodious Ports, ſo from thence Traffick and Commerce ariſe; and from Plenty of Commerce, Fleets of Ships, and a Multitude of Sea-Men; and upon theſe depends the chief Power at Sea: So that whoever has this, may carry it as far as he pleaſes, and make himſelf Arbitrator of Peace and War between his neighbouring Princes. And this Dominion at Sea is the peculiar Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, and makes them the Guardians and Arbitrators of the Peace of *Europe*. There is no Neceſſity for them to extend their Empire into foreign Countries; for Conqueſts beyond Sea are very precarious, and have always been a Burthen and Expence to the Kingdom: However, the Lord of the Ocean may

may exerciſe a Juriſdiction beyond the Limits of his own Empire, from the Riſing to the Setting of the Sun. And though it is not neceſſary to ſubdue foreign Nations, yet to guard their Neighbours from Invaſions, is certainly the greateſt Part of Empire. For there is more Glory in keeping an Enemy from entering another's Kingdom, than in conquering him; and there is not ſo much Honour in ſubduing ten Kingdoms, as in reſcuing one from Oppreſſion. The Kings of *England* can ſhew divine Favour to all Mankind; and as they have no Occaſion to hurt any one, ſo they have it in their Power to ſuccour the Diſtreſſed; and this is the greateſt Power in the World, and the beſt Reaſon that can be given for having that Power: For to be called a *Deliverer*, is a Name much more glorious than that of *King* only.

The third and moſt dreadful Danger to *Chriſtendom*, proceeded from the War in *Hungary*; but the Series of this Affair is too long to require a Detail of every Particular: It will be ſufficient to ſhew that it took its Riſe from the ſame Spring, namely, the Breach of the Tripple Alliance. For as the Emperor of *Germany* employed all his Forces againſt the *French* King, who was then at War with him, the *Hungarians*, thinking that this was a proper Time to recover their Liberties, roſe up in open War, to which they had a long time inclined, having been under-hand encouraged by the *Turk* to revolt; and made Religion and Liberty the Pretence for the War. The Emperor promiſed to grant their Demands if they would lay down their Arms; but they aimed at ſomething elſe. Having therefore received

ceived a Supply of Money and Troops from the *Turk*, they proceeded every where to Butchery and Murder: They killed the Clergy as Sheep, burned the Noblemen's Seats, plundered the Churches, and did all the baſe Things, that a Rabble are uſed to do; and at laſt, in the Year 1678, they choſe Count *Teckeli*, a proud and daring Man, to be their General. He flung himſelf preſently under the Protection of the *Turk*, promiſing to do every Thing that he would have him, and not to make Peace with the *Emperor* without his Conſent. The *Turk*, at firſt, gave him a favourable Reception, and ſent an Embaſſador to the *Emperor* to grant his Demands. What he aſked, he quickly obtained; however, he ſecretly abetted the *Hungarians*. The *Emperor* complained, that this was contrary to the ſacred Ties of the League they had made; which was denyed by an Oath. In the mean Time, the *Hungarian* Rebels, with a great Reinforcement, took the Field, and beſieged ſeveral Towns and Caſtles. But when Count *Leſley*, who commanded the Emperor's Forces in *Hungary*, advanced towards them, they durſt not venture a Battle; but retreating haſtily from one Part of the Country to another, plundered every Town and City they paſſed through. In the mean Time, they ſent Miniſters to treat of Peace, who made a Report of what Terms were offered. The *Hungarians* were divided into Factions: One of them, by the Advice of *Teckeli*, was willing to accept the Terms that were offered; but Count *Weſſalini*, who was at the Head of the other Faction, was of Opinion that larger Terms ought to be demanded;

and they concurred in his Opinion. The War was renewed in the Beginning of the next Spring; but a Peace being concluded between the *Emperor* and the *French* King, the imperial Forces were now in a Readineſs to march to the War in *Hungary*. Two Years were ſpent (*viz.* 1679, and 1680,) in Battles and Truces. The Emperor was ſo perplexed, that he knew not what to do; for the King of *France* again drew near to *Germany*, and the *Pole* and *Muſcovite* preſſed him to enter into a League againſt the *Turk*; and on the other Hand, the *Turk* threatened to invade *Hungary* with all his Forces, if he made ſuch a League. The *Emperor* being thus beſet on every Side, knew not what Meaſures to take; beſides, the *Muſcovite* had entered into an Alliance with the *Turk*. While *Teckeli* and his Party, ſeemed to deſire Peace, they refuſed all the Overtures that were made in order to effect it. The Infection had ſpread into *Germany*; for Sedition encreaſed among the Boors. Embaſſies were made fruitleſs by the *Turk*, and under a Colour of ſending Embaſſadors, Spies were ſent into *Vienna*. At length, after various Artifices had been uſed, the *Hungarians*, in the Year 1681, ſeemed to be ſincerely inclined to enter into a Treaty of Peace by their Miniſters, that the Emperor ſummoned the Diet of the Kingdom to meet at *Odenburgh*, a City upon the Borders of lower *Hungary* and *Auſtria*. He was preſent at the Aſſembly, and in a Latin Oration exhorted them to Peace, promiſing to grant them very honourable Terms. Firſt, they demand to have a Vice-roy or Palatine, who ſhould be one of their own Country-men, and Count *Eſterhaſi* was preſently inveſted

veſted with that Dignity: But *Teckeli* and his Party, in order to render every Thing fruitleſs, proteſted againſt that Election, and, at the ſame Time, inſiſted upon the Emperor's granting moſt unreaſonable Terms; particularly, that they ſhould pay a yearly Tribute to the *Turk*. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the Traytor had privately made a League with the *Turk* upon that Condition: And therefore without any Heſitation, they joined their Forces, and openly took up Arms. About the ſame Time, the *French* King began to march into *Germany*, and ſuddenly beſieged and took *Straſburgh*, and that ſtrong Town, *Caſal*, the Capital of *Monſerat*: And by the one, an Inroad was made into *Auſtria*, and by the other, into *Italy*. The Factious among the Diet, were ſo elated at this, that they added other Terms, which the Emperor could not come into, and therefore they endeavoured to break up the Diet, without concluding upon any Thing. At this Inſolence, they who were inclined to pacifick Meaſures, promiſed to pay the greateſt Allegiance and Fidelity to the Emperor upon the Terms which he had offered them: And when *Teckeli* heard this, he deſired a Truce, that he might alſo treat of Peace. This Affair was ſpun out to a great length, and making a new League with the *Turk*, he impoſed upon the Credulity of the Emperor's Miniſters. The *Turk*, in the mean Time, makes very great Preparations for War; and the Emperor aſking againſt whom his Forces were deſigned, was anſwered, that by the ſacred Majeſty of God, they were not intended againſt him. At length, the moſt *Chriſtian* King did, by his Embaſſador, diſcover to

the Emperor, that the War was deſigned againſt him; and that he would withdraw all his Troops out of *Germany*, and aſſiſt him with an Army of thirty thouſand Men, upon certain Conditions, if he wanted them. During the whole Summer, *Teckeli* and his Party overran their own Country, plundering every Town they came at, and making great Havock, and all the Deſolation and Miſery, uſual in a civil War. The Emperor was ſo moved at the Calamities and Sufferings of the *Hungarians*, that by his Embaſſador he begged, almoſt in the humbleſt Manner, that the *Turk* would make Peace; but all to no Purpoſe, for the grand *Vizier* (who had the chief Power) haſtened the Preparations for War. The Embaſſador, on the other Hand, urged the Obligations of the League, which had been ſo religiouſly made for twenty Years; to which the *Vizier* anſwered, that it ſhould continue upon theſe Terms.

That the Emperor ſhould pay to the *Turk* as much Money, as the Expences in making Preparations for War, amounted to: Next, that he ſhould pay him a yearly Tribute for the Future: And laſtly, that the Cities *Comorra* and *Raab*, with the Iſle of *Scuts*, upon the *Danube*, ſhould be delivered to him. Theſe Propoſals being rejected, the *white Horſe Tail* was hung up, which is the *Turk*'s Method of proclaiming War. Upon this, the Emperor ſounded *Teckeli* whether he could be brought, to accept of any Terms of Peace. He demands no leſs than the Principality of *Hungary* for himſelf; and a Vote in the Diet as the Princes of the Empire have: That the Popiſh Clergy

ſhould

ſhould pay an annual Tribute to the *Turk*; whom (laſtly) the Emperor ſhould pacify with a large Sum of Money. Theſe Conditions being alſo rejected, *Teckeli* and the *Turk* made this Agreement: That the Kingdom of *Hungary* ſhould be ſettled upon *Teckeli* and his Poſterity; that if the Race of *Teckeli* ſhould be extinct, the *Hungarians* ſhould elect a King of their own, with the Conſent of the *Turk*; that a yearly Tribute of four hundred thouſand Crowns ſhould be paid; that the Liberties of the *Hungarians* ſhould be for ever ſecured; that the *Turk* ſhould defend them from all their Enemies; that *Teckeli* ſhould never make Peace with the Emperor, without the Conſent of the *Turk*; that the *Jeſuits* ſhould be baniſhed; and laſtly, that the *Turk* confirm theſe Articles with an Oath. *Teckeli*, being made King, he preſently ſummons a Diet to meet at *Caſſovia*; he demands from the Nobility a Pledge for their Fidelity, and (as Clemency and Mercy are the greateſt Embelliſhments which Princes can have,) he promiſed, by his Embaſſador, whom he had ſent to *Vienna*, to mediate a Peace for the Emperor. But his imperial Majeſty, ſpurning at the Inſolence of the Man, entered into a League with the neighbouring Princes, particularly the King of *Poland*. Now the Army march out of their Winter Quarters to the Camp; and all the Forces in *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Europe*, that were under the *Turk*'s Juriſdiction, together with an infinite Number of *Tartars*, were in Motion. To ſtop the Progreſs of theſe *Barbarians*, the Duke of *Lorrain* was ſent, who alone had the Command of the imperial Army, which

which conſiſted of no more than forty thouſand Men: But being over-powered by ſuch vaſt Numbers, he retreated with wonderful Courage and Conduct to *Vienna*, he himſelf bringing up the Rear. The *Turks* haſtened to that City, laying waſte all the Fields, and burning every Town and Village on each Hand, as they marched: Preſently they formed a *Siege*; and though the City was not very well fortified with Walls and Forts, yet it was impregnable becauſe *Staremberg* defended it.

But as this Siege was the moſt memorable of any in this Age, or perhaps in the Memory of Man, I may be allowed to give a Deſcription of that great Affair. Never did Men fight with greater Strength, or greater Animoſity; Religion and Empire being what they contended for on both Sides. In beſieging *Vienna* alone, the whole *Chriſtian* World was beſieged; nor was the Sword drawn againſt *Auſtria* only, but againſt *Europe* alſo; for if the Enemy ſhould be conqueror, the Name of *Chriſtian* was to be deſtroyed from the Face of the Earth. For thus did the *Turk* threaten the God of the *Chriſtians*, when he proclaimed War: "That he would drive him out of the World "by Force of Arms; that he would eſtabliſh "among all Nations, from the Riſing to the "Setting of the Sun, the Dominion and Worſhip of his *Mahomet*; that he would bring "the crucified God into Subjection; whom, "if he ſhould dare to aſſiſt his Worſhippers, (for ſuch was the inſolent Expreſſion of this *Barbarian*) "he challenged to come and meet "him: And laſtly, that all the People of the "World ſhould know by the Event of this "Affair,

" Affair, which Religion was the moſt accept-
" able and pleaſing to the moſt high God."
When the Beſieged ſaw that the Fate of the *Chriſtian* World depended chiefly upon their Courage; and not one of them expecting to have an End put to his extream Miſery, but by Death or Victory; they, as if they had religiouſly tied themſelves down by a Bond, like People in Deſpair, took an Oath to defend the City (as we ſay) to a Man. But their chief Confidence, and greateſt Hopes, next to the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, and the Favour of God, were placed in the Fortune and Conduct of *Staremberg*. He had been accuſtomed to Dangers, but was never wounded, much leſs conquered in all his Life; and Cuſtom taught him to be as regardleſs of Danger, as Nature did to be ignorant of Fear. But thus this Affair went on.

On the fifteenth Day of *July* the Enemy marked out of their Camp two hundred Yards from the Fortifications of the City, and drew a Line of Circumvallation, and raiſed Parapets to defend them from the Enemy's Cannon; then they made Redoubts, and planting Cannon there, they fired from thence continually all the next Day, and throwing Bombs into the City, great Damage enſued, eſpecially to the Palace and the Cathedral. On the other Hand, *Staremberg* fortified the Town-ditch with a Scarp and Counterſcarp to keep the Enemy far off from the Walls; and in theſe the chief Defence of the City afterwards conſiſted. On the ſeventeenth Day the Enemy drew their Forces cloſer together, and turned all their Cannon againſt two *Baſtions*, and a Ravelin between them,

them, and, at the ſame Time, began an Attack with three Bodies, the Cannon playing Night and Day. In the mean Time, the Works were carried on by the Enemy, and two Mines made under the Fortifications, although the Beſieged made frequent Sallies. On the twenty third they ſprung two Mines, which did little Damage. On the twenty fifth another Mine was ſprung, which blew up Part of the Wall; hereupon they advanced on both Sides, and the Attack was ſharp and doubtful; but at laſt the Enemy was driven back with great Loſs. The next Day the *Turks* ſhot Letters into the City, which were faſtened to their Arrows, threatening, that if they did not ſurrender the City immediately, which God the Avenger of broken Alliances, had doomed to to Deſtruction, they would utterly deſtroy it, and put every Body to the Sword. Immediately they made a furious Aſſault, ſpringing their Mines, and firing their Cannon: And though at every Attack the Enemy was repulſed with the Loſs of many Men, yet as their Army was very large, they did not ſuffer ſo much by the Numbers that were ſlain, as the Beſieged did by the Slaughter of a few. On the fourth of *Auguſt*, one of the Out-works being weakened, the Enemy made themſelves Maſters of it; but were preſently driven out of it with great Loſs, and put into Confuſion. Some Part of the Fortifications were every Day taken by ſpringing Mines, and retaken by Force of Arms. Trenches were made between the Walls, and the other Trenches that were guarded by the Beſieged, that if the Enemy took the one, they might be driven back

by

by the other: at laſt, on the third of *September* the *Turks* made a Lodgment upon one of the Ravelins, which they had blown up by Springing a Mine, but not without the Loſs of a vaſt Number of Men; and the next Day they made a Breach in another, thirty Yards wide, but the Beſieged filling it up immediately with great Heaps of Earth, prevented the Enemy's Enterance. By theſe Ruins they carried on their Mines to the very Walls; and on the ſixth of *September* they ſprung a Mine, whereby a Breach of ſix and thirty Yards was made, and the Beſieged, ſeeing the Walls levelled, placed themſelves there, and drove the Enemy, who had been obſtructed by the Ruins, back to their Camp.

In the Night a Bulwark, made with Heaps of Earth, was erected in the place of the Fortifications that had been broke down. The City was now ſtraitened to the laſt Degree, when News was brought that the *Chriſtian* Army advanced: and the *Turks* hearing this, made an Aſſault much fiercer, than any before. The next Day new Breaches were made by the Enemies Mines, inſo much that the City was quite naked; but the more eager and reſolute the *Turks* were in the attack, with greater Courage were they repulſed. In the mean Time they prepare for a Battle, for which End they took a general Muſter of the Army; and it appeared they had loſt forty eight thouſand five hundred and forty five Men from the begining of the Seige to that Time. But now that great and memorable Day, the 12th of *September*, began to dawn; and as ſoon as Day light appeared, the *Chriſtian* Army advanced towards the Enemies Camp. The King of *Poland* led the Right Wing, *Lorrain*

the Left, and in the Center were the Princes of the Empire, *Saxony*, *Bavaria* and *Waldeck*, each at the Head of his own Troops. They marched ſlowly towards the Enemy, who thereupon (it ſeemed) advanced with the greater Warmth. The Army halted; but as often as the Enemy wheeled about, they drew nearer to them, and at every wheeling forced them to retreat before them to the Camp. The *Chriſtians* preſſed upon them by their Motions only; and when they came to an Engagment the *Turks* gave Ground; and at laſt they were ſo aſtoniſhed at the Firmneſs and Courage of the *Chriſtians*, and the wonderfull good Order of the whole Army, that they haſtily retreated to their Camp. Here they fought more ſharply for ſome Hours, and being at laſt overcome more by the Courage of the *Chriſtians*, then by the Loſs they had ſuſtained, they fled in ſuch Confuſion, that every one was glad to eſcape which way he could. 'Tis ſaid the *Grand Vizier* was the firſt that ſhewed them the Example. Their Camp, with a prodigious Booty, was taken: the warlike Stores were carried into the *Emperor's* Armory, and the reſt of the Booty was given to the Soldiers: and ſuch a vaſt quantity of Riches was taken, that every private Centinal was made a rich Man, ſo great was the Plunder.

The *Grand Vizier's* Pavilion fell to the King of *Poland's* Lot, in which he lay that Night. It is ſaid, that in this and the Tents of the *Baſhaws*, they took a Million Sterling, beſides a vaſt quantity of Furniture reckoned to be of great Value. The *Germans* were not ſo greedy of Plunder; and they thought they were happy enough in being delievered on a ſudden from Deſtruction

Deſtruction, at which they were amazed, and could ſcarce believe it. There was one Thing very memorable; that while both Armis were engaged, the *Turks* aſſulted the City with more eagerneſs then they had done before; but whether it was thro' Courage or Fear, is uncertain, or whether they thought they were able, to carry on the Attack and give Battle to the Enemy at the ſame time: or what is moſt probable, that in Caſe they could take the City, they might then retreat within 'its Fortifications, if they ſhould be beaten from their Camp. At this laſt Aſſault, a very wide Breach was made in the Walls, but the Beſieged planting their Cannon there, kept the Enemy from Entering. *Starembrg* gave Notice to *Lorrain* of the Condition the City was in, who immediately ſent the Prince *Baden*, with eight thouſand Men, to his Relief. They immediatly fell upon the *Turks*, who did not expect an Enemy from that Quarter, and the Beſieged made a Sally at the ſame time, and being cloſed in before and behind, ſix thouſand *Janizaries* were killed in the Trenches.

This was the Courſe and Event of that remarkable Siege, than which no former Age ever ſaw one more glorious, and perhaps no future will be able to produce a parallel. We have mentioned one or two before, thoſe of *Stetin* and *Triers*, under *Crequi*; which perhaps were carried on with equal Pains and Labour, and defended with equal Courage: but never was any City reduced to ſuch Extremity and Danger, which did not either ſurrender, or was not taken, But *Staremberg* would not ſuffer any thing in common with other Men,

but Death. When the Walls of the City were levelled he fought as if it had been in the open Field; and to the laſt, it could not ſo properly be called a Siege as a Battle: nor did he only drive the Enemy from the Walls, (which was a ſufficient Victory for the Beſieged) but in a fair Battle raiſed the Seige with the entire Deſtruction of the Enemy. Many Battles followed afterwards, which are worthy to be mentioned, but I chuſe rather to cloſe all with this which is the moſt Memorable then afterwards to relate other of leſs Note, tho' great in themſelves. I have put all theſe together, not having ſo much regard to the Order of Time, as of the Subject: for in theſe is contained the Hiſtroy of all thoſe Miſchiefs, which happened to *Europe* by the Breach of the Tripple Alliance. From hence let proud Mortals learn, that the greateſt Matters have their Dependence upon the Turn of ſmall Affairs; and that the greateſt Flames take their Riſe from little Fire, tho' it be an *ignis fatuus*.

The End of the Third Book.

Biſhop

Biſhop PARKER's

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

BOOK IV.

THE ſixth of thoſe deadly Sins, (which I ſpoke of before) was the Proclamation, iſſued by the King for Liberty of Conſcience, by which too great a Liberty of Religion was granted to the Sectaries. The factious Parties, of whom I have already made mention, had always, with unwearied diligence, blown up that Coal, which occaſioned ſo much Miſchief; but what they had ſo often attempted in vain, they now obtained with very little Pains: for War was immediately proclaimed againſt the *Dutch*. The Enemy had in every War before, urged the Sectaries

Sectaries to Rebellion, who of themſelves were too much inclined to Sedition and Faction, and always broke out with greater Violence, when the Enemy preſſed them to it. They gave it as their Advice, that the moſt effectual Way to put a Stop to this Evil, would be to grant them a voluntary Indulgence. That a Courteſy ſo generous and unexpected would certainly appeaſe them; and that the moſt prudent Kings and Emperors had taken ſuch politick Steps in every Age. Thus *Conſtantine* the Great, though he perſecuted the *Donatiſts*, (who were the Sectaries of that Age) with the bittereſt Puniſhment, yet, in the War with *Licinius*, he ſent Letters, being compelled by Neceſſity, to *Verinus*, who was his *Lieutenant* in *Africa*, to grant them not only Liberty of Conſcience, but to recall thoſe who had been baniſhed. The ſame Emperor, by the Edict which he ſent to *Baſſus*, at that time his Lieutenant in *Italy*, left voluntarily to the *Novatians* (the *Puritans* of that Age) the Churches and Burying-Grounds. So did the Emperor's *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, than whom no Emperor ever made more or ſeverer Laws againſt Schiſmaticks, eſpecially the *Donatiſts*, whom he perſecuted to Death, and at laſt cut them off from the face of the Earth: yet when the Matter was almoſt finiſhed, and the *Goths* happened to invade *Africa*, in the midſt of this Danger, he granted Liberty of Conſcience to them, unaſked, leſt they ſhould join with the Enemy, as they had done ſome time before, when *Gildo* rebelled. *Valentinian* the Elder, was highly praiſed for his generous Diſpoſition in putting out an Edict in favour of all Sectaries,

Cod. Th. de Hæret. leg. 2.

taries, whereby *he granted to every one of them the free Exerciſe of Worſhip, according to their own Perſuaſion:* and though he was an Emperor famed for his Prudence, yet he never was ſo much extolled for any one Thing he did, as for this generous Act of Clemency. For thus the Hiſtorian praiſed him in theſe Words: *Laſtly, he grew famous for his Moderation, in ſtanding neuter among the Differences of Religion; for he neither diſturbed, or compelled any one to this, or that way of Worſhip; nor did he threaten or prohibit any of his Subjects, or bow down their Necks to what he himſelf was inclined, but left theſe uncorrupted Parties, as he found them.* Ammian. Marc. *Lib.* 13.

After this Example, *Valentinian* the Younger put forth an Edict, whereby he gave liberty to the very *Arians*, as well as to the *Catholicks*, to aſſemble and uſe their own Method of Worſhip; and made it High-Treaſon in any one, who ſhould endeavour the contrary. *Cod. Th.* de fide Cath. Leg. 4.

Theodoſius the Great, having baniſhed the Hereticks, who did not agree in the Faith, yet made a Law, commanding that the *Novatians*, becauſe they did agree in the Faith, ſhould have liberty to hold their Meetings within the City, and have the uſe of their Churches. Socrat. Lib. 5. Cap. 10.

And others, not only Emperors, but Prelates have been known to do the ſame Thing. *Nor were their Churches taken from them (let the Truth of this depend upon this approved Hiſtorian) 'till the Time of Pope* CŒLESTINE, *who was the firſt that forced them to aſſemble in private Houſes, when the* POPEDOM *had tranſgreſſed its Bounds, and degenerated into Tyranny.* Idem Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

They ſaid further, that *Maximus*, the Tyrant, was the only Perſon that inflict-

ed

ed Death upon the *Priſcillianiſts*: that the other Emperors granted Indulgence not only to the *Chriſtian* Hereticks, but to *Heathens*, *Jews*, *Manichees*, and *Apoſtates*: every one worſhipping after his own Manner. That theſe were the chief Articles of the *Theodoſian* Codes, and that the Wiſdom of thoſe Times conſiſted chiefly in this Moderation. So *Baldwin*, and *Thuanus*, Men well verſed in the Records of the Church, and the Laws of the Emperors, were of Opinion, that Sword and Blood-ſhed, Baniſhment, and Attainders, rather encreaſed than cured the Diſeaſe. That all other Things indeed were ſubject to the Will and Pleaſure of Kings, but Religion was the only Thing that could not be controuled: for this was to be infuſed by the Grace of God, and Perſecution would contribute nothing to it. That the beſt Means to be uſed, were good Doctrine and wholeſome Inſtruction; for the Minds of Men are to be won by Perſuaſion, and not by Compulſion, Conſcience being a Thing that will turn to Rage, if Violence be offered; and is a Sore that will not bear to be rubbed: and this is what moſt of the Kings of *Europe* had too often experienced. It was to this that the Wars of the laſt Century in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *France* owe their Birth; this occaſioned the Murder of ſo many Princes, Kingdoms ſubverted, Provinces laid waſte, and Cities plundered and ſpoiled, becauſe they had claimed to themſelves a Power over Men's Conſciences. What great and dreadful Deſtruction did *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, and *Henry* the Third bring upon themſelves and their Kingdoms? What Devaſtation did *Germany* ſuffer

ſuffer by lamentable and cruel Wars, when Liberty of Conſcience was taken away? *Spain* had fallen into the ſame Danger, if *Ferdinand*, who ſucceeded *Charles* the fifth, had not by a ſolemn Edict granted to the *Sectaries* the free Exerciſe of their Religion; for he found that all his Brother's Wars, in which he himſelf commanded, had very bad Succeſs in the Affairs of Religion. But by granting this Indulgence, he and his Dominions enjoyed a profound Peace and Tranquillity. Who does not know that *Margaret* of *Parma* preſerved the *Low Countries* from a total Revolt, to which they were very much inclined, by allowing them Liberty of Conſcience? and, on the other hand, that *Alva* loſt them by his furious and rigorous Severity. Laſtly, not to mention all the Examples, which might be produced, and which indeed are very numerous, let the King only remember what Miſery befel his own good Father. He was a Prince of the greateſt Goodneſs and Mercy; and no one ever governed more juſtly, more modeſtly, or (which prevails moſt with the People) more frugally: but when he yielded to the Perſuaſions of the Clergy, and thereupon perſecuted the *Puritans*, he turned their Patience into Rage; for they were a bold and outragious Sett of Men, who, if they asked any thing with Humility and Submiſſion, and did not obtain it, would extort it by Force and Arms. Let him only conſider his own Times. Ever ſince the *Act of Uniformity* paſſed againſt the *Sectaries*, he has ſtrugled with annual, nay almoſt monthly Conſpiracies; nor will their Animoſity and Hatred ceaſe, till the King has ſoftned and conquered them by his Royal Indulgence:

which as it would be a free Gift, and proceed only from his Majeſty's own Goodneſs, there is no room to doubt but a Favour granted, in ſo extraordinary a manner, would oblige them above Meaſure. That it is derogating from the King's Honour to perform the part of an Executioner: *Nero* was the firſt who defiled his Hands with human Blood, ſpilt for Religion; that the beſt Emperors, who were moſt addicted to Heatheniſh Superſtition, deteſted to inflict Puniſhment upon *Chriſtians*; neither was it conſiſtent with the innate Goodneſs of his Majeſty's Temper and Mercy, to vex and torment his Subjects with unneceſſary Penalties. Laſtly, that he always declared, as his own Maxim, that Force was the worſt Remedy in the World for preſerving the Peace of the Church; that Diviſions were to be healed by friendly Conferences, and not by Wars and Attainders. Therefore he ought to follow the Bent of his own natural Diſpoſition, and not ſuffer himſelf to be biaſſed by the wicked Malice of other Men. The King yielded to theſe and ſuch like Arguments, and, on the fifteenth Day of *March*, granted, by Proclamation, a free Exerciſe of Religion. And perhaps it had not been unſeaſonable at that time, if the Factious had not made the King's Clemency a Cloak for their wicked Practices: for the moſt ſtrenuous Defenders of the Church always yielded to the Neceſſity of the Times, becauſe Remedies, that are of great Validity in Peace, may prove to have no Effect in War. While all things were quiet abroad, it was no difficult matter to curb the Schiſmaticks by *wholeſome Severities*; but as he deſigned to carry on a great War, he thought it

it was more adviſeable to ſooth Mens Minds as well as he could.

But the Factious turned a thing which was not ill-concerted at that time, to a different Purpoſe; for thereupon two very great Misfortunes befel the King. Firſt, a Difference between him and his Parliament, which had almoſt come to a Civil War; and, ſecondly, an Army of Rebels were liſted, and always in a readineſs for Rebellion. Thus from that unhappy Day the Peace of the Kingdom was deſtroyed, nor did the face of Affairs change, which ſeemed to threaten nothing but Ruin, till they had broke out almoſt into an Inſurrection. The Parliament was ruſled, nor were they now ſollicitous for the Wellfare of the Church and Religion, as formerly they had been, but leaſt ſomething worſe ſhould happen to themſelves. All their Care was employed in preſerving their own Prerogative; they did not deny that the King could grant an Indulgence, but ſaid, that it ought not to have been done without the Conſent of the Parliament. His Majeſty, on the other hand, alledged, that the Kings of *England*, always had the ſupreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which never was diſputed before, and therefore he would for ever maintain his juſt Right. That he would not take upon him to reſcind thoſe Statutes by which *Meum* and *Tuum* were to be determined; nor had he abrogated this Law, whoſe Penalties he had only ſuſpended for a Time, being forced by the Neceſſity of the War (of which he was the ſole Judge) to contrive ſome means whereby he might mollify the Minds of the Factious; and therefore he would leave it to the Parliament to conſult about this Affair, as they

thouth fit. The Parliament, on the contrary, very warmly inſiſted, that the Kings of *England* could not diſpence with any Law for a Moment; that his Anceſtors had never arrogated to themſelves ſuch a Prorogative; that if this were allowed, The ſupreme Government of the Kingdom, which conſiſted in making Laws, and that belonged to the Parliament only, would be ſubverted. The King yielding to their Obſtinacy, revoked *Liberty of Conſcience*; and did, in the preſence of his Cabinet Council, tear off the Great Seal, which had been affixed to it; and ſent his Prime Miniſter to the Houſe of Lords to acquaint them with what he had done, that they might enter it into their Journals, as a perpetual Remembrance thereof. The whole Affair being now left to the Conſideration of the Parliament, they began to make a new Law (which they called an Act of *Eaſe* or *Indulgence*,) by which all former Laws made againſt the Schiſmaticks, were to be repealed. The Subſtance of which was, that all *Diſſenting* Proteſtants, who would ſubſcribe to the Articles of Faith of the Church of *England* only, thoſe of Church Diſcipline being omitted, ſhould have Liberty to exerciſe their Religion after their own Way; and that they ſhould be exempted from the Penalty of thoſe Fines, whereby they were obliged to reſort to their own Pariſh Church. That the aſſent alſo, which the Clergy were to give to the *Act of Unformity*, and the Abjuration of the ſolemn league and Covenant, were to be taken off for ever: and that with Impunity they ſhould have Liberty to perform divine Worſhip according to their own Rites, and at the Quarter Seſſions a Place ſhould be aſſigned, where they were to aſſemble.

Lords Journ. Marc. 8. 1673.

Com. Journ. Feb. 27. 1673.

The

The Lords agreed to the Bill in general which had been ſent up to them by the Commons, but could not come to a Reſolution about one Particular, *viz.* whether the Indulgence, which at the third Reading of the Bill they had come into, ſhould be in the Breaſt of the King, or the Juſtices of the Peace: and this occaſioned warm Debates on both Sides, until the prudent Moderation of *Sheldon*, which was more than they deſired, (and of which I have taken notice before,) that they ſhould only acknowledge that the War, which was carried on by the Parliament againſt King *Charles* the Firſt, was unlawful, knocked all in the Head. The King ſeeing that the Parliament were very much incenſed at this, prorogued them for a Year. In the mean time, the Factious ſucceſsfully obtained what they had ſo often attempted before to no Purpoſe; which was thus accompliſhed. A general Aſſembly of the Factious being called, the King, by his royal Authority, granted to every one of them ſuch a Place to meet in, as they had choſen: thus the Sectaries had an Opportunity of fixing their Stations thro'out the whole Kingdom. Forty or fifty Conventicles were ſet up in every County, in each of which they took an Account of their Numbers, which they tranſmitted to the general Council at *London*, who thereupon had a Liberty with Impunity to protect each of their own Sect; nor did their Caſe want Men who were diligent to promote its Intereſt. Their Numbers encreaſed daily, for the Populace are naturally given to change; and upon this they proceed to number their own Parties. Thus under the *Colour* of Religion, Soldiers were

were liſted every where, and a Captain appointed to every Troop, and their proper Poſts aſſigned them, that they ſhould be always in Readineſs to riſe in Rebellion upon the firſt Opportunity, nor was any one of them ſuffered to go unarmed; and every Thing was ready for a Rupture. Thus by the ſtrict and ſecret Agreement, which the Sectaries had made between themſelves, Sedition was from that time daily fomented againſt the Kingdom.

The laſt of the deadly Sins was committed againſt the Parliament, (which the People of *England* had always laid neareſt their Heart,) in the Year 1673. For a new Cuſtom, which began from the Year 1640, continued to this Day; that when any Members died, the Parliament gave notice thereof to the Lord Chancellor, who thereupon iſſued out new Writs for chuſing other Members to ſupply the Places of thoſe that were deceaſed. But, on the contrary, *Shaftsbury*, who was then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, before any notice could be given to the Parliament of the demiſe of any of their Members, and before the time appointed for their Meeting, would, of his own accord, iſſue out Writs to ſome of the ſmall Burroughs, that by a private and clandeſtine Election, his own Creatures might have Seats in the Houſe of Commons. On the firſt Day of the Seſſions many new Faces appeared in Parliament; which occaſioned much whiſpering, the old Members aſking one another, who thoſe Strangers were, and from whence they came. When the Matter was diſcovered, they were expelled the Houſe, and the Parliament was very much incenſed againſt the Chancellor;

lor. He caſt the Fault (if there was any) upon the King; but affirmed, that what had been done was nothing more than aſſerting his Majeſty's Right, which was derived from the earlieſt Antiquity: nor had there any Innovation been made therein, till the Time of the Rebel-Parliament. That therefore the King did only renew the ancient Prerogative of all his Anceſtors, which not long ſince had been taken away by open Rebellion; and if he did not do this ſpeedily, before it came to be eſtabliſhed by long Cuſtom, he would ſurrender one of the moſt valuable Jewels of the Crown, with the Mark of Indolence and Neglect. That if the Commons would ſearch their Journals, they would find that there was no Inſtance of this new Cuſtom before the Rebellion. The Journals were examined, and *Shaftsbury*'s Aſſertion appeared to be true. However, the Parliament inſiſted upon the Preſervation of their new Privilege, and ſaid, that the King's Prerogative in this Caſe was of no weight; but if it were lodged in their Hands, the Kingdom would reap the Benefit of it, for then other Chancellors could not make clandeſtine Elections, as the preſent one had done. The King was not very much diſpleaſed at this Proceeding of the Parliament, for he began to ſuſpect the Sincerity of all the Chancellor's Advice, and had ſome Thoughts of removing him. And, indeed, the Diſpute about this Matter was not grounded ſo much upon the Account of Right, as of Parties. The Chancellor had a great Sway in his own County, *(Dorſet)* by reaſon of the great Station he was in, eſpecially among the Sectaries, by whoſe Intereſt he endeavoured

deavoured to have ſuch Members choſen at every Election, as were of his own Kidney. *Strangeways*, a Man of an ancient and illuſtrious Family, of great Loyalty, and a large Eſtate, always oppoſed him. This Gentleman had ſerved under King *Charles* the Firſt, in all the Civil Wars, and had merited great Eſteem by his Gallantry. He did, and ſuffered as much for the King as a brave Man could do. He was always couragious in diſcharging his Duty, ſtedfaſt and honeſt; a ſtrenuous and undaunted Defender of the royal Cauſe, when it was expired: and his affable and courteous Behaviour made him ſo very popular, that no Man had more Intereſt in the County, for he could ſet up what Candidates he pleaſed, and carry almoſt every Election. When the Chancellor would not venture openly to oppoſe this great Man, he ſtrove to over-reach him by this Artifice. About that time four Members, who had been choſen for the County of *Dorſet*, being dead, he clandeſtinely filled their Seats with four of his own Party: but *Strangeways* was ſo enraged at this, that knowing his Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons to be as great as among his Country-men, he complained to the Parliament, and the whole Houſe were now incenſed againſt the Chancellor, though ſome of the Members only had been his Enemies before. He ſtruggled for ſome time, but finding that he was hem'd in by ſo many Enemies, he thought the moſt prudent Method he could take, was to give way as well as he could. He knew that the Duke of *York* bore him a long and implacable Grudge; his Admiſtration had diſpleaſed that Prince, who

who was grieved to ſee him advanced to ſuch great Power. The Chancellor dreaded no Man's Indignation more than his, for he was ſenſible that nothing could ever ſatisfy him but the Deſtruction of his Enemies. His greateſt Hopes were long placed in the *Clemency* of the King; but when he perceived that he withdrew from him, and that he was now ſtript of all Defence, he began to think of making the beſt Terms for himſelf. At laſt, finding that the Parliament attacked him ſharply, and that they would grant no Supply to the King, till he was removed from all Offices, which done, they would not deny any thing to his Majeſty; and underſtanding that the Parliament were preparing Articles of Impeachment againſt him, the Harbingers of impending Fate, and his Intereſt at Court being in a deſperate Condition, he ſuddenly changed Sides, and went over to the *Sectaries*, joining his Complaints with theirs. Firſt he inveighed againſt the *Papiſts*, and ſaid, that the *Proteſtant* Religion would quickly be deſtroyed, if ſome ſeaſonable Interpoſition did not prevent it. That the face of Affairs ſeemed to look favourable to *Rome*, but he would rather die than change his Religion. He therefore exhorted every one to riſe up with him againſt the Adolaters, and ſaid, that he very well knew that this would be a thing very diſpleaſing to the Courtiers, and for that Reaſon, did not doubt but he ſhould be removed from all his Grandeur. But he prefered a good Conſcience before the Empire of the World: and howmuch ſoever the Victory might coſt, *Rome* muſt be deſtroyed; (*Carthage* might now remain ſafe for him,) and by theſe Speeches he ſo ſucceſsfully gained the Hearts of the People, that they

preſently adored, and embraced him, as if he had been the Father of his Country, or their Deliverer come down from Heaven. Crowds of noble Men preſently flocked about him; and tho' he was but yeſterday accuſed in the Houſe of Commons, yet now, all of a ſudden, no Man was more popular among them; ſome of the Clergy extolled him in their publick Writings, as the only Preſerver of Religion, and ſaid, that he had performed a Work of no leſs Glory than Danger; promiſing that his Fame, like the Woman's in the *Goſpel*, ſhould endure from Generation to Generation. While this great Hurry continued, he procured two Acts of Parliament to paſs, before he laid down the Chancellorſhip. One was againſt the *Papiſts*, whereby they were rendered uncapable of enjoying any Office, civil or military, except they would conſent to ſuch Articles, as were repugnant to their Principles. The other was a general Act of Indemnity, which indeed was more extenſive than any that had ever been made, and by which he ſtood, *Rectus in Curiâ*, (to uſe the Law Phraſe) ſo that he could not be called to an Account for any Male-adminiſtration, or any Crime he had committed. In leſs than one Year he was ſtript of all his Power, for he was made Chancellor the 17th of *November* 1672, and was turned out on the 9th Day of the ſame Month 1673. *Bridgeman* obtained that Office after the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*. He was a Man ſtrictly Loyal all his Life, an uncorrupt Judge, and one that perfectly underſtood Equity and Law, which he adminiſtred impartially. During *Cromwell's* Time, the legal Juriſdiction of the Courts of Juſtice being taken away, he quitted the Bar; and tho' he did practiſe publickly

publickly, yet he was one of the King's Counſel in private, and preſerved a great many from the Iniquity of the Times. When Juſtice returned with the Reſtoration of the King, he was advanced from one Degree of Honour in the Law to another, till at laſt he was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; nor was he guilty of any Error, as far as I know, but once, being drawn aſide by others, in relation to the Affairs of the Church. This modeſt Man being prevailed upon by the haughty, and yet flattering Brow of ſome of the Clergy, offended againſt the Rites of the Church; for they made uſe of Authority to accompliſh what they called a *Comprehenſion:* in all other Reſpects he was a ſincere Encourager, and Son of the Church. It happened at this time, that the Bankers were ſummoned by their Creditors (whoſe Money had been ſhut up in the *Exchequer)* to appear at the *King's-Bench*, and pay the Money they had borrowed: the Bankers removed the Suit into *Chancery*, and if it was received there, that Court could grant an Injunction to ſtop the Proceedings of inferior Courts, for that is a Privilege which the Court of *Chancery* has over all others. But *Bridgeman* being incenſed at ſuch illegal Proceedings, diſmiſſed ſo unjuſt a Suit, not without ſome Mark of Infamy. *Shaftesbury* complained of this bold Proceeding to the King, and ſaid, that it was a Reproach caſt upon his Majeſty, and upbraided him with ſhuting up the *Exchequer*; and if he had not done that, the Bankers would have been able to have made good their Payments. That therefore it was Our, and not Their Cauſe; and therefore his Majeſty ought to protect them a little while, one Year only, and by that time the *Exchequer* would

be able to diſcharge its Debts. That if *Bridgeman* would refuſe to grant the King ſuch an equitable Requeſt, he was not worthy to be intruſted with a Power in greatneſs next to the King's own: and for his part, if he were Lord Chancellor, he would indulge the Bankers, and allow them ſome time. Hereupon *Bridgeman* was gently removed, and the Seals were given to *Shaftesbury*. He preſently performed his Promiſe, for he received the Bankers Suits, and granted Injunctions to ſtop the Proceedings of other Courts. But when *Shaftesbury* perceived that he ſhould ſoon be removed from the Chancellorſhip, he ſet aſide all thoſe Injunctions.

While he continued at the Head of his Miniſtry, he publickly declared, that every thing went on in a ſmooth and even Road; and in his Speech to the Parliament, *February* 5th, 1673. he congratulated the Kingdom on Account of the King's great Goodneſs and Prudence; for while he carried on a War abroad, *England* enjoyed all the Plenty that Peace could produce. That by his mild Government his Majeſty had ſecured the Hearts of all his Subjects, and had cultivated a publick Tranquillity and Union among them; that there was a more than Conjugal Affection between the King and his Parliament, not to be ſeparated by any Divorce; that all things were ſafe, and no Room left for Jealouſies or Detraction; that our Religion, our Church, every Man's Right, the impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the Dignity of Parliaments; and, indeed, every thing that contributes to make us happy, would be intirely ſecure in the King alone: that no honeſt *Engliſh* Man could wiſh for more, except it were that his Majeſty's Reign might continue many

many Years, and the Tripple Alliance between the King and his Parliament never broken.

But as ſoon as he was forbid the Court, he haſtened to the City of *London*, and accompanied by his Followers, went every Day upon the Walks of the *Exchange*, as if he had turned Merchant, and ſighing very heavily, ſaid, O my Countrymen; how deſperate is the preſent State of *England*! The only thing now deſigned, is to ſet aſide our Laws, and make every thing ſubject to the Will and Pleaſure of Courtries. *Papiſts* and *French* Penſioners are a Confirmation of this, who had all the Power in their own Hands; that he had oppoſed them for a long time, but in vain; that it was a Crime to complain of theſe things at Court, or to look with concern; and therefore, for that Reaſon, he was ordered to withdraw from thence; that if they did not take care in Time, it would be too late to aſſiſt their Country. That they might eaſily perceive by what had been lately done, what Deſigns were on Foot: that, contrary to the Laws of Nations, the Tripple Alliance was broke, for no other Reaſon than to join with the King of *France*, who was a *Papiſt*, and enter into a War againſt the *Dutch*, who were *Proteſtants*; a War, which was begun againſt them, who were at that Time our Confederates, before any Herald had proclaimed it. That indeed a Toleration of Religion was granted, not out of Compaſſion to the tender Conſcience of *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, but to open a Way for *Jeſuits* and *Papiſh Prieſts* to come into *England*. That the Force of all our Laws was taken away at the Will of the King; for if he had Power to ſuſpend them for a Minute, he might continue that Suſpenſion as long as he lived. That the Parliament

ment, upon this Account, carried their Reſent ment very high; and tho' the King ſtruggled againſt it with more than uſual Reſolution, yet yielding at laſt to the Indignation of the Parliament, he was forced to pretend to abrogate it; but tho' the Indulgence, that had been granted to *Proteſtants*, was taken away, yet the *Papiſts* are allowed to this Day, the free Liberty of exerciſing their Religion. Beſides, with what barbarous and unheard-of Injuſtice were his Subjects plundered of their Fortunes, by ſhuting up the *Exchequer*: and therefore, what regard to Property can be expected in that Kingdom, where ſuch arbitrary Proceedings are allowed? Laſtly, not only the private Rights of Subjects were violated, but the very Freedom of Parliament was invaded; for new Members, contrary to Law and Cuſtom, were choſen to ſupply the Places of thoſe deceaſed, without the Knowledge or Conſent of Parliament, that by ſuch a Breach, Courtiers and *French* Penſioners may be admitted into the Houſe of Commons. That the Parliament therefore had ſhewed a more than common Reſentment, to Thoſe, in particular, who were known to be Men of the ſtricteſt Loyalty, ſuch as *Strangeways* always was, a Man never ſuſpected to incline to Faction.

This furniſhed Matter enough for Complaints; this ſtruck all the People with a panick Fear, this occaſioned as great Confuſion and Out-cries in every Street, as if the City had been plundered. Thus, in a ſhort time, the City not only withdrew from her Duty to the King, but ſet up, as it were, a new and different Form of Government. A numerous Aſſembly was choſen, which ſate at a Tavern near the *Exchange*, and theſe were diffe-

rently

rently employed. The Buſineſs of ſome of them was to keep thoſe ſteady, who were inclinable to Faction, by ſupplying them with Wine, and not ſuffering them to be ſober; others diſperſed Letters, crammed with Lies, throughout every County: and at laſt, they all agreed, to caſt all the paſt Counſels and Actions of *Shaftesbury*, which he and his Party now ſo ſharply condemned, upon ſuch of the King's Miniſters, as were in Power, when he was laid aſide; eſpecially upon the Duke of *York*, by whoſe Advice principally he was removed. Among theſe Schools and Nurſeries of Sedition, the moſt notorious was at the *King's-Head*-Tavern, the Corner of *Chancery-Lane* in *Fleet-ſtreet*; Thoſe who meet there had more Impudence than the reſt, for the major part of them were Lawyers, who pretending to have a ſuperior Knowledge in the Statutes of the Kingdom, made others more confident who had leſs Judgment; and they arrived to ſuch a Degree of Impudence, that when they went abroad, they wore a Green Ribbon in their Hats, as a Badge of their Society. This School produced the chief Officer, who appeared in the Rebellion, that happened afterwards.

Scurrilous and infamous Libels were ſcattered in great Numbers among the Populace. Among theſe ſaucy Detractors, the moſt notorious was that vile Fellow *Marvell*: whoſe Life, from his Youth upwards, was one Scene of Wickedneſs. He was naturally ſo pert and impudent, that he took upon him to write Satires for the Faction, in which there was more Defamation than Wit. His Talent was in railing; in every thing elſe he had a grovling Genius. Being out of Favour with his Father, and expelled the Univerſity, he had leſs regard to his Conſcience, than he had before

to

to his Reputation. He was a ſtroling, ragged, half ſtarved Poetaſter; beaten at every Tavern, and caned and kicked every Day for his ſaucineſs. At laſt, by *Milton*'s Intereſt, (to whom he was agreeable, becauſe he had ſuch another ill-natured Talent,) he was made one of the under Secretaries to *Cromwell*'s Secretary. Pleaſed with his Advancement, he publiſhed a *Congratulary Poem* in praiſe of that Tyrant; but when, for a long Time, he ſate hatching a *Panegerick*, he brought forth a *Satire* againſt all Monarchs, legally eſtabliſhed. He compared *Cromwell* to the Sun, and ſaid, that Kings were ſlow Bodies; ſlower than *Saturn* in their Revolutions, and darted more noxious Rays upon the Earth. That if every Monarch's Reign was to continue to the *Platonick* Age, not one of them would do any thing that was beneficial to the World. That it was a Maxim with them All, to make their Subjects Slaves; that, by their good Will, they would attack no Enemy but their own Country-men; that it is with much Reluctance they enter into a War with Foreigners, and becauſe they are compelled to it, but voluntarily make War with their Subjects, and never deſiſt till they have it in their Power to treat them as conquered Slaves: nor do they fight againſt them only, but againſt God; for they are made drunk with the Sorceries of the Whore of *Babylon*; they fight for *Antichriſt* againſt the *Lamb*, and ſerve the Whore of *Rome*. They not only deſerted, but hindered the Work of the Lord, begun by his Saints in this Age, under the auſpicious Conduct of *Cromwell*.

But at the *Reſtoration*, this miſerable Wretch relapſing into his former Poverty, procured himſelf, for the ſake of a Livelihood; to be choſen a Member

Member for a ſmall Burrough, in which his Father had been a *Presbyterian* Preacher in the Rebellion, and was very ſerviceable to the Party. By ancient Cuſtom, every Burrough was to allow each of their Repreſentatives five Shillings *& Diem* to bear their Expences: but this Cuſtom had been diſcontinued for a long time, they deſpiſed ſo ſmall a Stipend, which looked like Alms given to the Poor; however, he demanded it for his Subſiſtence; and though he was ſo poor and needy, yet he was very proud and haughty. He was an Enemy to the King's Affairs in all Parliaments; and one of the Cabal of ſixty, a Remnant of the Rebellion, who had bound themſelves by Oath from the beginning, to embarraſs the King, and not to give their Votes for a Supply. But theſe Fellows could never carry one Point in the Houſe, for they were always treated with the utmoſt Scorn and Contempt; if they could do no good, they could do no hurt, for as ſoon as any one of them began to open his Mouth, he was hiſſed; and as often as our Poet ſpoke, he was cudgelled for it. For which Reaſon, having often undergone that ſort of Diſcipline, he learned at laſt to hold his Tongue: but when he was out of the Houſe, he vented his Spleen with great Bitterneſs, when he could do it with Impunity, and daily belched out his ſcurrilous Libels againſt the King himſelf.

If the Fanaticks at any time wanted his Aſſiſtance, he preſently ruſhed out of his Cave, in the ſame Manner as a *Gladiator*, or a wild Beaſt, when they were to appear in the Am-

phitheatre at *old Rome.* But this **Buſtuarius* never fought with more Fury than when he was near his own Grave, in a Book which he publiſhed a little before he died, which he called, *An Hiſtory of the Growth of Popery and Tyrannical Government in* England. In this Libel, with a Shew of great Grief and Concern, he ſeemed to lay it much to Heart, that the Papiſts had, for a long time, watched Night and Day to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and that they would have accompliſhed their Deſign, had it not been prevented by the Interpoſition of the Fanaticks. He began his Diſcourſe with the ſeven deadly Sins before-mentioned; by which, *ſays he*, it was next to a Miracle, that the Kingdom had not been ruined. He ſpoke to this Effect, That the Tripple Alliance was ſcandalouſly violated, contrary to the Laws of Nations; that the League entered into with *France* againſt the *Dutch*, was a Matter as full of Treachery as Danger. That the *Dutch* could not be charged with any Crime, for they had, with the ſtricteſt Faith, punctually obſerved and kept all the Articles of Peace, that even in ſtriking the Flag they were more officious, than was required. That the leaſt Cauſe for a War was diligently ſought for, but none can be found; and yet a War was begun without the leaſt Shadow of Pretence: and much more to the ſame purpoſe.

A ſharp cunning Man truly, and a hopeful Advocate for his Friends! One, who defamed the

* *The* Buſtuarii *were certain Fencers or Prize-fighters, who in ancient Times were hired to exert themſelves, at the burying Place of any Perſon, or when the Corps was to be burned.*

the King, the States of the Kingdom, the Council, and all the great Officers of State, that he might extoll the Merits of his own Party. Thus he began his Speech with a bare-faced Lie, for whatever was done privately by other Miniſters, *Shaftesbury* was the publick Author and Adviſer of it. The Speeches which he made in Parliament were cried about the Streets, one on the fifth of *February*, and another on the 27th of *October* following which was juſt thirteen Days before he was removed from the Chancellorſhip, (*viz. November* 9th;) in which Speeches he moſt bitterly upbraided the whole Kingdom for not having deſtroyed *Carthage*. In another, he ſaid, that the *Dutch* were perjured Alliance-breakers; that they had not only refuſed the Right of the Flag, but made what Intereſt they could in all the Courts of *Europe* to have it taken away. That they had an innate Hatred to the *Engliſh*, as well on account of Emulation, as by their Diſpoſition and Temper; and that the War would never be ended but by the utter Deſtruction of them or us. That the Safety of one depended upon the Ruin of the other; and that the War would laſt for ever, except we humbled the *Dutch*. Beſides, as the King had undertaken it with the greateſt Prudence, as the Parliament deſired it with the greateſt Promiſes, he exhorted them to bring it to a Concluſion by the ſame General, with which they had begun it: and if any one withdrew from it, before it was accompliſhed, he would be one of the greateſt Traytors to his Country. In another, he ſaid, that the King hoped he ſhould have met his Parliament that Day, with a Teſtimony of the Peace being ratified; which had been done,

if the haughty, ſtubborn, unreaſonable Enemy had not deſignedly, and with the greateſt Marks of Contempt, rejected the Offers which had been made. That the King's Demands were ſo reaſonable, that the very Embaſſadors, who were the Mediators of Peace, and Guarrantees of the Faith, voluntarily given on both Sides, openly declared, that their Mediation would have no Effect, if they did not accept the Terms that were propoſed. The King deſired nothing more for himſelf than the ancient Rights of his Anceſtors in the *Britiſh* Seas, which they had conſtantly enjoyed from one Age to another; for if the Dominion of the Sea was to be deſtroyed, no Man could afterwards be King of *Great-Britain*. That the next thing his Majeſty inſiſted upon was, that his Nephew, the Prince of *Orange*, ſhould be reſtored to the Dignity which was derived to him from his Anceſtors; and that the *Loveſtein* Party, that republican Faction of *Carthage*, were the only Perſons who oppoſed it. And laſtly, that the Rights of Trading, (eſpecially to the *Eaſt-Indies*,) ſhould have the ſame Force and Effect, as had been agreed to by them and us. But the *Loveſtein* Faction oppoſed theſe equitable and moderate Articles with the greateſt Contempt and Arrogance; a Faction, who from their very Nurſes, imbibed ſuch an everlaſting Hatred to the *Engliſh*, that they were reſolved to deliver it to Poſterity, as the only Pledge of their Country. That they not only offered Libels to the Mediators of the Peace; ſtuffed with the moſt contumelious Language, that it would be a ſhame to publiſh them; but contended all the Offers of Peace with Diſdain and Grimace. Yet after all

all they ſent a Miniſter into *England*, declaring they would willingly accept a Peace, upon the moſt unreaſonable Terms that the King ſhould propoſe. But their Enterpriſe was fruſtrated; for they ſaw that nothing but War was deſigned; and therefore they appealed from the King to the People in a quite different Tone, and with ſuch Saucineſs, that one would have thought they had been treating with them for a Peace, not with the King; and, indeed, it was not ſo much concerning a War abroad, as to foment a Rebellion in *England*. Beſides, all their Deſigns tended to one Point, that is, that if they could diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* from being Lords of the Sea, then they would have the Dominion of the Ocean, or (which would be the ſame to them) the Empire of the whole World. And their Agreement with us in Religion, which was the Pretence for a Peace, would be no Security; for it has been found from the earlieſt of Time, that worldly Intereſt had been a Means to reconcile Differences in Religion; but no Proof could be brought that Religion had ever put an End to a Diſpute, where Intereſt was the Point in Debate; and much more when Dominion was brought upon the Carpet. Laſtly, that the Deſign of this War was not the Purſuit of Glory, of Riches, or for extending the Boundaries of Dominion, but it was undertaken *for the Preſervation* of our Religion and Country. If we ſhould be conquered, then from that time forward we muſt not look upon our ſelves as a free People, but as the Slaves of the Conqueror; while we are Maſters of the Sea, our Fleet, (as it always has been) will be a Bulwark againſt the Enemy; but if we loſe that, every Port, every Harbour will be made a Priſon.

ſon. If therefore we have any Love and Regard for our Country, our Liberty, and our Families, the War ought not to be deferred one Day; for if it was, we might endeavour to aſſiſt them, when perhaps it would be too late.

See now the Modeſty of our famous Advocate, *Marvell!* who, as he would have attributed the Deſtruction of the Kingdom to this one War with the *Dutch*, endeavoured with the ſame Breath to praiſe *Shaftesbury*, who was the only Adviſer of it, and extoll'd him as the Deliverer of his Country. A moſt abominable Lie! but yet agreeable to the Modeſty of the Man.

He afterwards proceeds to upbraid them in this Manner, for having ſhut up the Exchequer: that the Nation groaned under a very heavy Debt, two Millions *Sterling*, and upwards; that the Parliament had, by ſeveral Taxes, granted Money enough to diſcharge that Debt, but as if they look upon it to be a Crime to apply, what had been ſo given, to its juſt and proper Uſe, at the ſame time, that they promiſed to pay what was due at the Exchequer, they ſhut it up when it was full of the Fortunes of private Families, leſt perhaps the Money ſhould be applied to that *Holy War* or *Cruſado*, which they deſigned againſt the *Dutch*. That the *Conſpirators* (for ſo he called the *Courtiers*) carried on this Affair with Secrecy, leſt the Diſcovery of ſuch a Piece of Villainy ſhould diminiſh the greatneſs of its Enormity.

On a ſudden therefore, (*January* 1ſt, 1671) a Proclamation was publiſhed, and an immenſe Sum of Money, which private Perſons had lent to the Exchequer, was by open Theft taken from the Proprietors: innumerable Families were ſtript of

of all their Fortunes by one publick Robbery, and the whole Kingdom being aſtoniſhed at ſuch unparalleled Tyranny, deſpaired of their Right for ever. That there was no Action in Life ſo baſe, as to ſtop the Payment of Creditors, when there is Money to diſcharge them. That the King, who had ſo lately received ſuch large Supplies from the Parliament, ſhould, by a ſolemn Proclamation, commit a noon-day Robbery upon the Fortunes of his Subjects, was a Piece of Villainy without Precedent. —— But if this was a Piece of ſuch Villainy, a noon-day Robbery, I would ask this Man, who was the Contriver of it? who the Adviſer? who perſuaded the King to it? who put it in Execution? and laſtly, who hindred the Expiation of theſe Crimes by making juſt Payments, the Neglect of which he caſts upon the Conſpirators, but the Earl of *Shaftesbury?*

The wretched Fellow proceeds thus: The Conſpirators were of Opinion, that it was beſt to try how the publick Faith might be firſt violated at home, and then they might with more Confidence perform the ſame thing abroad; for to treat all Men alike, whether Countrymen or Enemies, ſeemed to carry ſome Colour of Juſtice. Having therefore committed a Robbery at home, they thought proper to begin a pyratical War with the *Dutch*. They had religiouſly kept all the Articles of Peace inviolable, from the time it was concluded, and being conſcious of their Sincerity, and conſequently not fearing or apprehending any thing from the *Engliſh*, traded freely in the *Britiſh* Seas. Nevertheleſs, the Conſpirators had formed a Deſign to ſurpriſe their Fleet near the Iſle of *Wight*, in its Return from

from *Spain* and *Aſia*; that herein they manifeſted themſelves to be Bunglers, and Faith-breakers.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury* ſaid enough before concerning the Fidelity of the *Dutch*; but this wretched Poet bears ſuch mortal Hatred to his own Country, that he excuſes the *Dutch* in the moſt flattering Manner, and lays all their Craft and Subtilties upon the *Engliſh*. I confeſs, indeed, that we once broke our Faith, but it was done when the Faction were in power; nor did the King conſent to it, till they had perſuaded him that the *Dutch* had violated theirs. And, indeed, we never wanted a ſufficient Cauſe for Complaint, becauſe they never performed any one Article they agreed to. What Modeſty therefore can this Man have, who bawls out, and ſays, that the War was begun without any Cauſe, when thoſe very Men, whom he adores as the Preſervers of their Country, were the Perſons who promoted it? Nor, indeed, was it unjuſt in it ſelf, tho' diſhonourably begun by them; and when they were put out of Play, it was honourably carried on and ended, for they agreed to all the Terms of Peace, which the King had approved, and paid three hundred thouſand Pounds towards the Expences of the War.

Laſtly, he attacks the Liberty of Conſcience which the King had granted, by which, ſays he, the ancient Wickedneſs of the *Giants* was renewed; and that our Religion, which had been guarded by ſo many Laws, was now left naked and expoſed to her Enemies; that the *Papiſts* and *Sectaries* had thereby a Power given them to beſiege the *Church* of *England*, which coſt us ſo dear, on every Side; that not only the Church,

Church, but the Conſtitution of the Kingdom was ſubverted; for by the *fundamental* Laws of the Kingdom, no Man could diſannul what had been ratified by Parliament; and if the King ſhould do this, he would be a Parricide to his Country. That this therefore was the moſt conſummate Impudence in the Conſpirators, ſuch as the Memory of Man cannot trace. But now they had a mind to try, by this one Example, whether the People of *England* would allow their Kings to have ſo great an Authority over the Laws; for if they would concede to this, there would be no Occaſion for Parliaments, who alone have the Right of making Laws. That the Conſpirators Aim was to order the Matter ſo, that the Parliament ſhould not give a Check to the Liberty, which the King granted by his own Power; but that his Will and Pleaſure ſhould have the Force and Efficacy of a Law.

Marvell certainly was the beſt Judge, whether the Conſpirators intended to introduce Tyranny; for if he was not their Secretary, yet he was admitted to all their ſeditious Conſultations, on Account of the old Friendſhip between them, and therefore the moſt proper Perſon to be a Witneſs againſt his Friends and Maſters. But we ſhall ſee by the Event, at what Mark they took their Aim; for they raiſed an Army of Rebels preſently, who, when Opportunity ſhould offer, were to reſcue their Rights and Liberties from the Power of Tyranny: and it is well known, that they afterwards attempted to do this, but failed of Succeſs. But ſee the ungovernable Preſumption of theſe Fellows! they implant the Fear of Tyranny in the Minds of the People, that they themſelves may bring

every thing into Anarchy and Confuſion. But the Falſehood of this drunken Buffoon exceeded all others, for he now ſharply charged it as a Matter of great Villainy, what in all his Writings he had before affirmed, with the greateſt Bitterneſs, every Man ought to claim by human and divine Right. He was a Principal in claiming Liberty of Conſcience for the Fanaticks; and when the King had granted it, he called this Compliance the Tyranny of *Nero*, on purpoſe to work the People into an Hatred and ill Opinion of his Majeſty's Government. I will trace the Matter back a little, becauſe it was from hence that the Conſpiracy of the Fanaticks took Birth, which afterwards grew up to an open Rebellion by Treachery, and Deceipt, Lies, and the moſt ſubtile Contrivances.

About the Year 1667, when *England* was reduced to a very low State by Peſtilence, Fire, and Sword, the Fanaticks endeavoured, according to their old Cuſtom, to involve their Country in new Sedition: and in order to effect this, they diſpoſed many Libels among the Populace, wherein they demanded an unlimitted Liberty for their ſchiſmatical Fury. They ſaid, that all the Laws, relating to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, were in themſelves wicked and unjuſt; that by the Law of Nature, every Man had a Right to the free Exerciſe of his Religion, and that the great God of Heaven would not ſuffer the great Power which Kings uſurped over the *Conſciences* of Men, where he himſelf had the ſole Dominion. Beſides, they threatened the King with their Faction being very numerous, ſaying, that the *Puritans* were a People not ſo weak or inactive, but that they could and would defend

and

and maintain their Liberties in religious Matters from all Tyranny; that they once did, and not long ſince, by their own Strength, throw off the heavy Yoke, and therefore the King ought to take care, and not raſhly provoke ſo many brave Men. The Principal among theſe were Sir *Charles Worſley*, and Doctor *John Owen*. *Worſley* had been one of *Cromwell*'s Privy Counſellors, and a great Sycophant, and was one of thoſe who were for placing the Crown upon *Oliver*'s Head. But when the King was reſtored, he voluntarily quitted all publick Affairs; and though he might have been admitted into the King's Council, yet he diſdained to ſerve, nay, even to obey his lawful Sovereign, though he had not only ſubmitted to, but alſo embraced the Slavery of the Tyrant, *Cromwell*. For he was of the Sect of the *Independents*, who would not allow any one Man (*Cromwell* only excepted) to have a ſupreme Authority in Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, but ſaid all Power was lodged in the People: that Appeals were to be made from the Magiſtrates to Them; that their Power and Authority was ſuperior to that of Kings, which was given by them, and that they ought therefore to be their Lords and Maſters, who could depoſe them, whenever they thought fit. That the Church does not acknowledge the Prieſts to have any Power; that there is no Virtue or Efficacy in ſacred Orders; no Right of Succeſſion; but every Man had a power of chuſing not only his own Miniſter, but (I know not what ſort of) a Chaplain for himſelf. Is it therefore to be wondered at, that Men who will not ſubmit to be under any Government, ſhould alſo refuſe to be under the

Reſtraint of any Laws? When therefore the then preſent State of Affairs ſeemed to ſicken under its great Hardſhips, they flocked together from all Parts, hoping that they ſhould be able to extort by Violence the Reſtitution of their ancient Liberty, while the Strength of the Government was weak and feeble: which being obtained, they would not then fear to encounter with an Enemy, whom ſo many Misfortunes had diſabled. This they did afterwards, as I ſhall ſhew, when (with God's Permiſſion) I come to ſpeak of *Oates*'s Plot, by which they attacked the Government with all their Force. In the mean while, at the ſame time that *Worſtley* publiſhed his Libel, *John Owen* alſo publiſhed another, which he called *An Apology for Liberty of Conſcience*; in which having undertaken to patronize his own Party, he did not bluſh to extoll the *Independents*, as Men of the ſtricteſt Loyalty to the King, and, according to his modeſt way, to clear his Brethren from the Charge, which was laid at their Door, though he himſelf was ſmeared with the Blood of King *Charles* the Firſt. But though his Scribbling be harſh and filthy, without Judgment, and carries no weight with it; though he takes an unſufferable Licence of Lying, yet ſtill it is agreeable to the Taſte of the People. For if ſomething be written, no matter whether well, or ill, true, or falſe; yet they think that to be ſufficient to ſupport their Cauſe. He was, from his Youth, not only an indefatigable Promoter of Rebellion, but a ſtrenuous Advocate for it, the bittereſt Enemy to the *Royal Family* among all the Parricides: he not only exerted himſelf in adviſing the Perpetration of that execrable Deed, but praiſed the

the Commiſſion of ſuch an abominable Fact, in a Sermon which he preached before the Regicides. He admoniſhed and commanded them, as the Prophet of God, to perfect the Work they had begun with the Father, under divine Influence, in deſtroying his Children; for it would be a thing acceptable to God, not only to aboliſh the Government of the Family of *Stuart*, but not to ſuffer one of them to have any Dominion in *England* for the Future. But I have no Inclination to ſay more of this notorious Rebel at preſent, ſince I may, perhaps, ſoon write the Hiſtory of this wicked Man.

Againſt theſe Encroachments of the King's Enemies, I, among others, become a Voluntier, tho' too young, to handle Affairs of ſuch great Moment. I ſhewed them, that it was one thing for the King to grant *Liberty of Conſcience* to his Subjects, through his own Tenderneſs, and another to demand it as a Right due to them. For if Kings can legally grant ſuch a Liberty, yet it would be a very dangerous thing to encourage ſeveral Religions in the ſame Kingdom. That one would be at War with another, and every one be Enemies to the reſt, and all of them to the Church eſtabliſhed by Law. That many Religions gave occaſion for Civil Wars; and it has been experienced in all Ages, that Differences in religious Affairs were never compoſed, but by Blood. That there ſcarce has been a Civil War in the *Chriſtian* World, which was not begun under a Colour of Religion. That they, who engaged in ſuch Wars, were more inveterate and outragious, than if Civil Intereſt had been the Occaſion of their Quarrel; for every one's own Religion is deareſt to him, and he

ſets

ſets a greater Value upon his Church, or other Place of Worſhip, than he does upon his Habitation: and therefore will fight with greater Zeal for that which he eſteems moſt; and religious Wars have always been the moſt Bloody. If we caſt an Eye upon the ſeveral Nations of *Europe*, we ſhall ſee that in the latter Ages, they have been infeſted with fatal Wars; and that Differences in Religion have been the only Cauſe of them; and that thoſe very Wars never ended but in the Subverſion of the State, or the Reduction of the Rebellion. If we look upon *France* alone, how many Lives have fell a Sacrifice to the Raſhneſs and Cruelty of the *Calviniſts*, in the Reigns of *Henry* the Second, *Francis* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Lewis* the Thirteenth! under a Pretence of preſenting an humble Petition to *Francis* the Second, who was then a Minor, they plotted againſt the Life of that King. They traiterouſly aſſaulted *Charles* the Ninth at *Meldun*; and if the *Switzers*, uſing both Courage and Stratagem, had not ſurrounded him even to a Miracle, when he was in the midſt of the Traytors Spears, they would have accompliſhed their premeditated Villainy; and afterwards they broke out into open War, and fought till the Strength of *France* was loſt in many Battles, which occaſioned Deluges of Blood. In the Reign of *Henry* the Third, the Nobility excited that Sect to Rebellion, for they had not Strength enough to carry it on without their Aſſiſtance. As often as the great Men of the Kingdom were inclined to an Inſurrection, they always found the Sectaries ready to take up Arms; and although they were almoſt cut in Pieces in many

many Battles, yet the *Hydra* ſprung forth again, and the War was renewed with greater Sharpneſs. *Henry* the Fourth, by granting much to that Faction, increaſed their haughty Spirits, and by heaping ſo many Favours upon them, he was ſuſpected by his own *Popiſh* Subjects to be a *Calviniſt* in his Heart: and under the Colour and Pretence of that they entered into the *wicked League*. Thus while he favoured both Parties, he obliged neither; but while he ſtood between both, each of them was his Enemy. Though they ſuccoured *Henry* of *Navarre* in claiming the Crown, yet when he embraced the *Roman* Faith, they would then *help Henry as a Calviniſt, but not as a King*. If he indulged them in any thing, they looked upon it as their proper Right; and they abuſed the Edict of *Nants*, in making it a Pretence for War. And this alſo was the Occaſion of War againſt his Son *Lewis* the Thirteenth, and they did not lay down their Arms, till *Rochell* was taken, and then being ſtript of all their Forces, they ſubmitted to the King's Power.

Beſides, they who demand Liberty of Conſcience from Kings, as a Right that belongs to them, endeavour to overthrow the preſent eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, and ſubſtitute their own in its Place. For as every Man thinks that his own Religion is purer than all the reſt, then, by the ſame Impulſe of Conſcience, that he is commanded to deſire the free Exerciſe of it, he is obliged to procure the Propagation thereof throughout the whole World, as much as in him lies: and therefore he will not deſiſt from ſuch an Endeavour, till his own Religion be advanced to the Heighth. This, and much

much more to the ſame Purpoſe, I declared concerning the *Right*, which Kings have over Men's *Conſciences:* but though they have ſuch a Right, yet they may recede from it when they will. And we have many Inſtances of this in Hiſtory, but we ſeldom find that it has been done by a prudent Prince, except the Force of War compelled him to it, and when the Danger was over, he then recalled it. The *Dutch* War therefore being ended, they claimed a Liberty of Conſcience too late, for the King had nothing to fear from any Enemy.

But as to the Right, which Subjects claim in Matters of Religion, exempted from the Power of the King, I declared, that if this was allowed, it would ſubvert all the Right of Government; for nothing can contribute more to its Eſtabliſhment, or Deſtruction, than Religion. If Peace, Sincerity, Moderation, Modeſty, Meekneſs, and Submiſſion to higher Powers for Conſcience ſake, are the Touch-ſtones of Religion, then it is the great Intereſt of every King to encourage ſuch Principles in his Subjects: but if Enthuſiaſtick Madneſs, if Superſtition, and a corrupted and depraved Credulity, if Moroſeneſs, Hard heartedneſs, Cruelty, or a Suſpicion that God will do any Injuſtice, are couched under the Word Religion: in ſhort, if Religion be ſuch, as by too long Experience we have found theirs to be, then to allow ſuch Principles to be broached, is opening a Door to let in all Manner of Evils. For if the Liberty, that is deſired, ſhould be univerſal, and not circumſcribed by any Bounds, then there would be another Power erected in the Kingdom, which would always emulate and claſh with the King's Power.

For,

For, are Kings God's Vicegerents? What is there upon Earth that acts in God's Stead by a more unerring Rule than Conſcience? Have they a Power to determine what is Right, and what is Wrong? Yet ſure the Judgment of Conſcience is of much and ancienter Date, and the higheſt Tribunal under God. Can they make Laws to compell Men to act honeſtly? What can conduce more to eſtabliſh Virtue, and make Men keep their Promiſe, than Conſcience? Can they inflict Pains and Penalties upon Criminals? What is more grievous than a wounded Conſcience? Are Kings ſubject to God alone? Conſcience ſubmits to no other Soveraign than God. Nay truly, Conſcience is an Empreſs who will govern not only with equal, but alſo with ſuperior Power to Kings: for they take Cognizance of the outward Actions of Men, but ſhe has Power and Juriſdiction over the hidden Thoughts of the Soul, which will not be under Subjection to human Power. Hence, as often as Men are inclined to rebel againſt their Soveraign, they liſt themſelves under the Banner of Conſcience, and follow her as their Leader. At her Nod, and by her Advice, all the Rage and Fury of the People are turned into Religion; all Things ſacred are profaned by Fanatick Madneſs, and hurries raſhly, where his Conſcience calls him. Are they King-killers? do they murder the Nobility? do they tear in Pieces the Peace of the Church? are they guilty of Perjury? Why, truly, Conſcience commanded them to do theſe things. In ſhort, whatever they would have, and wiſh to be done, they account it to be ſanctified and confirmed by her command. If therefore an abſolute Liberty of Conſcience (as

they call it) be required, it is evident that Kings can have no Power, for every Man would then be a King to himſelf. Kings have a Power over Men, but every Man's Conſcience is the Man himſelf, therefore the Man, and the Conſcience of the Man are the ſame thing: if therefore Kings have no Power over the one, he cannot have any over the other.

When the Right to univerſal Liberty of Conſcience has been taken away, it ſhould afterwards be demanded upon certain Terms; and therefore Conſcience alone is not to be ſet in Oppoſition to the command of Princes, but an antecedent Law ought to be produced, which contains ſomething in it contrary to thoſe commands: and in this Caſe the Law of God only can be of any Validity. Let the Sectaries therefore produce any Law out of the Holy Bible, by which they are inhibited to pay Obedience to the eſtabliſhed Ordinances of the *Church of England*. If they cannot do this, then they are obliged to obey, and their ſo-much boaſted Liberty of Conſcience falls to the Ground: ſo that the only thing in Diſpute is, whether the *Church of England* enjoyns the Performance of any thing, that is forbidden by God. The Controverſy begun by them, is about ſome few Ceremonies uſed in our Manner of Worſhip; as whether it is lawful to uſe the Sign of the Croſs in Baptiſm; or to wear a Surplice in performing divine Service; or to receive the Sacrament, kneeling; and ſuch like. Now if theſe are Trifles, yet even (in *Calvin*'s Opinion) they are tolerable; neither are they any where forbidden in *Holy Writ*, and therefore ſubject to human Laws. And though, perhaps, they may not be ſo pleaſing

ſing to nice Perſons, yet they are not of ſuch great Moment, as to ſupercede the Peace and Authority of the Church: and, indeed, it ought to be ſome very great Matter, that ſhould occaſion a Separation from her, as *Optatus* ſaid formerly to the *Donatiſts*, who declared they would die ſooner than return into the Boſom of the Church. He ſpoke thus: *It is ſaid to no Man, deny God; it is ſaid to no Man, burn your Bible; it is ſaid to no Man, offer Frankincenſe, or pull down your Churches; for ſuch things uſually produce Martyrdoms.* And St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaking againſt the ſame Sect, ſays to *Januarius*, *That which is not contrary to the Catholick Faith, nor to Morality, is to be taken indifferently, and to be obſerved for the ſake of the People among whom we live.* This was always a Maxim among all Chriſtians, that ſmall Matters were not ſufficient to juſtify Debates and Schiſms: and that it is a Duty incumbent upon us to obey what is commanded, except ſuch command be apparently wicked. By this one Maxim, the *Church* and the Kingdom has always ſtood; and if that be taken away, Government can have no Right and Power; for it conſiſts in having thoſe alone. Beſides, the Reaſons they give in defence of their Schiſm, are only a Colour and Pretence for War: and as for their great Propoſition, *viz. That nothing is lawful in divine Worſhip, but what God himſelf has commanded*, it is not only light and trivial, but falſe in its ſelf. For God has ordained nothing, concerning *Chriſtian* Worſhip, but the two Sacraments; and all other things are left to the Diſcretion of the Church. But if that Propoſition had any weight in it, yet it makes as much againſt them-

ſelves, as it does againſt the Church; for they have a particular Manner of Worſhip as well as we. The ſame can alſo be proved concerning their other Pretences for *Chriſtian* Liberty; for not offending weak Brethren; for not exerciſing Authority over wavering and ſcrupulous Conſcience; but all theſe things, of how great Authority ſoever they are, muſt ſubmit to the Power of Kings. There is no Right, under God, better than theirs; and therefore when that takes place, all thoſe ſmaller Matters muſt vaniſh.

I alſo declared, that theſe Fellows were neither honeſt nor modeſt in asking a Liberty of Conſcience; for they had too lately been guilty of High-Treaſon, and for them to deſire any Liberty whatever, ſavoured more of Rebellion, than Religion. If they are Men of the ſame Principles, which they formerly avowed, it is then evident, that they are the open Enemies of Monarchy; and if they refuſed to give new Pledges of their Allegiance, yet they ought at leaſt to ſhew ſome Signs of their Sincerity. By ſuch a modeſt Proceeding perhaps, they might prevail upon the King's good Nature to grant them an Indulgence; but without this, they would affront his Majeſty, in thinking him ſo childiſh and fooliſh, as to give his profeſſed Enemies an Opportunity to form Cabals in order to carry on their Conſpiracies; and this they would certainly do, if they were allowed to meet and join Company, as often as they pleaſed. For it was well known that their Preachers and Leaders were the old Enemies of the *Royal Cauſe*, and were mad with an ungovernable Deſire of reducing Kings to Subjection. That under a

Pretence

Pretence of maintaining their Liberty, they would endeavour to effect and bring about a Revolution in the State, and would not give over, till by Force of Arms they had ſnatched the King's Scepter out of his Hands. That Religion was not the Thing, but Power was; and the Queſtion is, Whether Princes muſt be ſubject to them, or they to Princes? By their Tenets, the People are ſuperior to Kings, and have a Power to call them to an account; ſo that by inverting the Nature of Things, Princes muſt be under Subjection to their Subjects, and Subjects have the Power of Dominion. For to what other Intent or Purpoſe does their great Maxim tend, *viz. That the States of every Kingdom may not only uſe Force to ſuppreſs the Licentiouſneſs of their Kings, but as they received ſuch a Power and Authority from God himſelf, that they would manifeſt themſelves to be abandoned Wretches, and baſe Betrayers of the Liberty of the People, which is committed to their care, unleſs they made uſe of ſuch Power?* And what do they mean by their other Maxim, *viz. That the King is ſubject to the Law, and the Law to the People?* Is it not that they may lawfully reſiſt the King, when he oppreſſes his Subjects, or deſtroys the Church of God? If he perſiſts in doing theſe things, they may take up Arms againſt him, and when they have ſubdued him, inflict what Puniſhment upon him, they think fit. If the Victory falls to them, then they call their Succeſs a Token of God's being well pleaſed with it, and that whatever ſuch Rebels act againſt their King, they ſay that it was done by the Direction of Providence. Theſe are the common Tenets of all

Sectaries,

Sectaries, particularly the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who, as they are very numerous, are the principal Perſons, who arrogate to themſelves a Liberty of Conſcience. That the moſt famous Teachers of both Sects, inculcated all theſe Notions in their Followers, not only by Preaching, but by the Books, which they publiſhed: if they denied it, we were ready to prove our Aſſertions from their own Writings, which was afterward effectually done, when they had not the Modeſty to diſown it. If they were to have the Liberty of their *Meetings*, then every Conventicle, where the People's Minds are poiſoned with ſuch Principles, would prove a rich Magazine of Rebellion. In ſhort, I foretold what they afterwards brought about; though indeed no one, who knew them, had any occaſion for the Spirit of Prophecy to predict what they would do; for where the Eagles reſort, there Carrion will be found. Their Teachers ſtrive in vain; for the more ſtudious they are in endeavouring to conceal their Villainy, the more they diſcover it. When therefore they could not find among all their Faction, one Man of Integrity, Learning, or Sobriety, who would undertake to defend their Cauſe, they ſent this *empty Fellow* upon the Stage, who made a Jeſt and Laughing-ſtock of all Things ſerious; and at the ſame time they praiſed, they alſo deſpiſed the *merry Andrew*. Thus by mocking God, Religion, the Church, and the King, they eluded, according to their uſual Modeſty, the moſt important Points of the Controverſy, in a ridiculous and obſcene Manner: and nothing ſerious was written, except the Praiſe given to the King's Clemency for granting

granting Liberty of Conſcience to the *Diſſenters*. Upon this he joyfully congratulates the King and the Kingdom, and foretells that every thing will be proſperous to both; that by this political Act, the Government was eſtabliſhed, no Pretence left for Diviſions, and a Foundation was laid for an everlaſting Peace. If any oppoſed it, they were Enemies not only to the Kingdom, but alſo to the King's Prerogative; for to ſhew his Clemency in granting Liberty of Conſcience, was his principal Right. That Civil Laws were always in Force; but Eccleſiaſtical muſt ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure; and he could not make better uſe of his Power, than by diſpenſing with the Laws, and indulging tender Conſciences. This is the very Man, who at another time, that he might have brought the King under the Hatred and Envy of the People, cried out, that to grant ſuch an Indulgence was to betray our Religion, to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, to make a Jeſt of the Laws, and aim at Tyranny. To abuſe all things, and make a Handle of them in order to ruin the Kingdom; to blow hot and cold with the ſame Breath, juſt as each of them may do the greateſt Miſchief; is the very Nature and Spirit of the Faction.

From this Source came that Torrent which overwhelmed the Kingdom; for by granting a Liberty of Conſcience, one Ruin tumbled headlong upon another. Firſt, as the Dignity of Government was rendred weak and feeble by yielding to rebellious Subjects, ſo it encouraged them to proceed in their Rebellion; for they did not acknowledge the Toleration to be granted on account of the Love and good Will which the

the King had for them, but ſaid it was extorted from him, and Fear made him comply: therefore they would not own themſelves obliged for any Kindneſs they received from the King, for if he had not granted it in time, he ſhould have found what they were willing and able to do. But as their Liberty was given, or rather reſtored, to them, they would not tamely ſubmit to be made Slaves for the Future. By theſe Allurements (for the very Name or Shadow of Liberty is the ſweeteſt thing in the World to the Vulgar) they deceived the Populace, and drew over ſo many to their Party, that the whole Kingdom groaned under them, and wondred how it ſelf become Fanatical.

I thought it was a Duty incumbent upon me, to be the more diligent in laying open and explaining this Subject, becauſe as it is a Matter of the greateſt Concern in human Life, ſo it has not hitherto been clearly underſtood even by wiſe Men. Upon this Rock chiefly moſt Politians have ſplit; who not being very ſollicitous about Religion, think it a Piece of Impertinence to trouble others about it; for, ſay theſe Men, it has always been uſual for the People to pleaſe themſelves with their own Fancies in Religion; leave them to their own Superſtition, and they will be delighted, like Children, with their own *play-things*, and be quiet: but if you offer to diſtrub them, you may with more ſafety provoke a Neſt of *Waſps*. That Civil Wars frequently happen, by not indulging the Weakneſs of the common People; if you will let them alone, they will remain quiet; but Superſtition, when diſturbed, breaks forth into Madneſs. That Religion is to be propagated

gated by Inſtruction, and not by Force; for if you uſe the latter, it will extort an outward Shew of Piety, but it will produce no other Fruit than Atheiſm, and an Averſion to all Religion; for Men never reliſh Compulſion. Theſe Topicks have been uſed as popular Arguments, not only among Hiſtorians of the greateſt Fame, but alſo by Men of indifferent Reputation, and by ſome, who, perhaps, were little addicted to Religion, as well as by others who were very religious. And the great *Thuanus*, the Father of modern Hiſtory, was very well pleaſed with them, who was a Man of ſuch Candor, that he has recommended *Moderation* in religious Affairs, in almoſt every Page of his Writings. But this otherwiſe diſcerning Man did not obſerve, that it was one thing to force People to embrace a Religion, and another either to defend it, or repel it with Force. I confeſs no Compulſion ought to be uſed; for if Religion be not voluntary, it is nothing: but if any new Religion be brought into a Prince's Country, and he be diſpleaſed with it, he then may drive it out by Force and Arms. If it be ſincere, let it make its way, unarmed, as the *Chriſtian* Faith did in the firſt Ages; but if it uſes Violence, it will be open Rebellion: therefore, if Religion be ingenuous, yet no Danger can enſue from it, howſoever oppreſſed; but if it be not, then it ſhould be repelled as an Enemy. But this has been the Crime of all Sects, though they are forbidden, yet they will maintain themſelves by Arms in Oppoſition to the King's Commands; and therefore in ſubduing them, no Violence is offered to Religion, but Force is only oppoſed againſt Force. Religion is not the thing in Diſ-

ſpute, the Kingdom muſt be defended againſt an hoſtile Invaſion. Let them think as they pleaſe, but let them not enflame another's Territories; if they make ſuch an Attempt, they deſerve to be puniſhed for their Preſumption. If one King ſhould invade another Man's Country, that he may impoſe his Religion upon them, when they are ſubdued; this indeed would be a Compulſion by Force, and no way (in my Opinion) juſtifiable: but to defend a Religion, which the Kingdom has received, and is eſtabliſhed by Law, againſt a new Religion, cannot be called a Compulſion upon others to embrace my Religion, but to defend it againſt the Violence offered to it. And this has been the Occaſion of War in every Kingdom, between the Prince and the Innovators of Religion. Theſe were the firſt Aggreſſors; and when Princes would drive them out of their Territories by Force, they did not thereby offer any Violence to their Religion, but prevented them from offering Force to their own. This ought to be the firſt and chief Ground of a War for Religion, not to propagate my Religion by Force and Arms, but to prevent the Progreſs of any other.

Another Reaſon is, when penal Laws are enacted by the Authority of the Government, for the Support of the Church, againſt ſtubborn Offenders. I confeſs, that when *Chriſtianity* was in its Infancy, it did not want ſuch Power, for Men were invited into the Boſom of the Church upon no other Motive than a ſincere Love of Religion; and it was Puniſhment enough for any Man at that time to be expelled out of a Society, which he thought could alone make Life happy, and to be caſt upon the Borders of Hell:

So

So that when *Chriſtianity* firſt ſet out, Excommunication was a Puniſhment ſufficient to anſwer the Diſcipline of the Church. For what could affect the Minds of Mankind with greater Terror, than the Dread of everlaſting Torments, which were immediately to enſue, and which they believed would certainly be the Conſequence of Excommunication. But afterwards, when Kings and Emperors came into the Boſom of the Church, and heaped many Privileges upon her, the Wicked, as well as the Godly, followed ſuch Leaders; and the former ſeemed to have the greater Zeal, not becauſe they followed the Church, but the Court; reverencing the Emperors, and not *Chriſt*. Hence Princes had a new Office, *viz.* to take care that the Church ſhould not be wounded upon their Account. Leaving therefore to the Church its own Juriſdiction over thoſe who were real Chriſtians, they were pleaſed to drive out thoſe with the temporal Sword, whom the Church could not come at with the Spiritual. For though Reprobates did not regard her Sentence, yet as long as they profeſſed themſelves to be *Chriſtians*, (and gave as much Offence as if they were really ſo,) the Emperor took Cognizance of them; and whom the Church caſt out, he removed from him, which ſhe could not do, and puniſhed them as he thought fit, not as *Chriſtians*, but as contumacious Subjects. This Uſe of penal Laws in religious Matters, has been in Force from the time of *Conſtantine*; which always followed, but never preceded the Sentence of Excommunication. This gave Birth to that great Bulk of imperial Laws concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; hence aroſe the CODES of the Emperors, *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*; hence

the *Baſilica*, or Royal Edicts in the *Eaſt*, and the *Capitularia*, or Statutes in the *Weſt*. And by this alone the Emperors defended the Church; they did not enact particular Laws for her only, but what ſhe made, they confirmed with the Addition of Penalties to be inflicted upon the Tranſgreſſors.

The Reader, I hope, will forgive the extraordinary Length of this Diſgreſſion, for the Remembrance of our late Miſery makes me ſay more than otherwiſe I ſhould have done, and to bewail our Misfortunes. The dreadful Storm is before my Eyes, in which we ſaw our Country almoſt ſwallowed up. I ſeem to view all the Dangers of a Shipwreck, to be now daſhed againſt the Rocks, and preſently to be ſucked in by the Waves; to be toſſed from one Danger to another; but at length, when all Hopes of Safety were laid aſide, to be brought ſafe by a Miracle into Port. We were ſo near the Mouth of Ruin, that we wonder we were not ſwallowed up, and we cannot, without Horror, look back upon the Greatneſs of the Danger. But whatever Misfortunes and Hardſhips we ſuffered, they all proceeded from this unhappy Piece of Politicks. The Enemies of the Kingdom had ſpent twelve Years in preparing the Machine, before they could prevail to have it received within our Walls; but when they had done this, thinking they had now perfected their Work, they proceeded to attempt every thing; and drawing their Forces together, broke forth into a Civil War. For on the ſame Day that Liberty of Conſcience was granted to the *Diſſenters*, they proclaimed (what they call) the *Popiſh* War: and under the Colour of that pretended Fear

and

and Hatred to *Popery*, they formed their Plots againſt the State, and chiefly againſt the Church. But when that was blown over, they daily filled the Minds of the credulous People with new Fears; and for ſix Years ſucceſſively, terrified with the News of a *Popiſh* Invaſion, till at length all their Villainy appeared in *Oates*'s Conſpiracy. But they had every thing in ſuch readineſs for a Civil War, that if that wicked Plot had not happened at that very Juncture, they had hatched another, which they would have produced to the People on the firſt Day that the Parliament were to meet; which ſhall be related at a proper Seaſon, if God ſhall ſpare my Life. In the mean time, thoſe very Perſons, who by their Treachery and Importunity extorted that Liberty, were the Men who turned the King's Clemency into a falſe Accuſation againſt him; and the very Contrivers of the wicked Machine, were the firſt who bellowed out that it was *big* with a *Popiſh* Plot.

There were two things, which, like *Circe*'s Cups, bewitched Men, and turned them into Brutes, *viz. Popery* and *French Intereſt:* and if either of theſe happened to be whiſpered in the Houſe of Commons, they quitted their calm and moderate Proceedings, and ran immediately into Clamour and high Debates. If Men, otherwiſe ſober, heard them once, it was ſufficient to make them run mad. But when theſe things were laid aſide, their Behaviour to his Majeſty was with a becoming Modeſty. And as at the beginning of the Seſſion, no Parliament ever ſhewed more Loyalty and Obedience to the King, ſo no Artifices could make them entirely forſake that Loyalty. If by chance they fell into

into hot Debates, yet ſo ſoon as their Paſſions ſubſided, they returned to themſelves and their Duty; which they manifeſted in nothing more than granting Supplies. For a Seſſion did not paſs, in which they refuſed to give the King, with a free Spirit, as much Money as he was pleaſed to ask; and, perhaps, their Munificence made the King prodigal, who indeed was never looked upon as a parſimonious Man. For being naturally too liberal, and having ſuch immenſe Sums of Money heaped upon him, could not govern himſelf, but gave too great a Looſe to his Profuſeneſs: and, I believe, nothing did the King ſo much hurt, as that immenſe Subſidy of two Millions and an half, which the Parliament granted in 1664, to carry on the firſt *Dutch* War. From which time, having been accuſtomed to great Expences, and not apprehending that he ſhould ever want Money, could not be brought to put a Check to his Profuſeneſs, But to proceed. 3

When the Duke of *York* (*October* 20th, 1677) had, by his Proxy, betrothed the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, the Parliament petitioned the King to annul that Contract; upon which his Majeſty prorogued them for ſix Days, that by that time they might reflect with themſelves how unhandſomly they had interfered with a thing that did not belong to them. But on the firſt Day of their Meeting, they did not only renew their Petition, but backed and confirmed it with Arguments. They ſaid, that if ſuch a Marriage ſhould be conſummated, it would greatly endanger the *Proteſtant* Religion; that it occaſioned great Grief, and gave great Offence to his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* Subjects; that it would oblige him

him to enter into *Popiſh* Alliances; that it had been found by Experience, that ſuch Marriages had increaſed the Growth of *Popery*; that this Affair had already raiſed the Spirits of the Papiſts too high; that they were not for diminiſhing the People of *England*'s Affection towards the Duke of *York*, which was very great; but it was a miſerable thing that the Nation ſhould never be free from the Apprehenſion of Popery, with which they had been terrified for an hundred Years: and laſtly, that the *Dutcheſs* had many Relations in the Court of *Rome*. The King, with a ſmiling Countenance, anſwered, (*October* 20th) that he was not a *Pope*, and therefore could not annul a Marriage that was performed according to the Law of Nations; that he wondered that they had not interpoſed, when, not long ſince, the Duke deſired to marry the *Dutcheſs* of *Vipont*; and that Princes of the Blood had certainly as much Right to marry whom they pleaſed, as any other Perſons. Having received this Anſwer, they were very much incenſed at it; and by untimely Advice (the Houſe being in an uproar) they came to the three following Reſolutions. 1. That they would not grant one Penny to the King till the Proteſtant Religion was ſecured, by removing ſuch Privy-Counſellors, as were *Papiſts*. 2. That publick Prayers ſhould be made to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven, and keep off *Popery*: And, 3. That the Army, ſmall as it was, ſhould be disbanded. Upon this the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *January*, *Shaftesbury* removed from the Chancellorſhip, and the Marriage was ſolemnized.

On

On the 7th of *January*, 1674, the Parliament met, and the King acquainted them, that all his Endeavours to bring the *Dutch* to a Peace, had hitherto proved fruitleſs; that they laughed at all Terms of Accommodation; and when they pretended to treat ſeriouſly about them, they were making great Preparations for War. He therefore adviſed them to meet the Enemy in time; that he had a Fleet ready, if they would take care that the Sea-Men's Wages ſhould be paid; and if they would put it into his Power to do this, he promiſed to obtain an honourable Peace, which they themſelves ſhould approve. Otherwiſe the *Dutch*, who are a proud People, would impoſe ſuch Terms upon him, being defenceleſs, as they pleaſed. That the only thing which made them, to a Man, averſe to Peace, was, that they had an Account from *England*, that the Parliament would not grant any Supplies; but if that vain Hope was taken away, he would eaſily procure ſuch a Peace, as they ſhould deſire.

But the Parliament did not regard what was ſaid concerning Peace and War; they laid Religion more to Heart than any thing elſe, which, as they ſaid, was in more danger from the *Papiſts*, than the Kingdom was from the *Dutch*. That firſt of all a Day ſhould be appointed for Humiliation and Prayer. Secondly, that every Man's Right and Liberty ſhould be delivered from Tyranny; and that this could not be expected till ſuch evil Counſellers were removed, as were then at the Head of Affairs. Laſtly, that as the Rumour of a *Popiſh* Plot (raiſed by themſelves for the Purpoſe) was in every Body's Mouth, they begged that the King would order all

all the Militia throughout every Country, and eſpecially the Train-bands of *London*, to be in readineſs to take the Field.

This alarmed the People, whoſe Fear was greatly increaſed, when they heard that ſuch Danger was nigh at hand, and yet could not tell from whence it came, or where it lay. They ſaw no Enemy at home, who was able to carry on a War, except every ſingle Man could kill five hundred; for the Number of the *Roman Catholicks* did not exceed the Number of *Proteſtants*, nor did they apprehend that it would rain armed Men; but when they began to conſider, that no Enemy could be ſo near, except they came from beyond Sea, they were then ſtruck with a dreadful Fear of a *French* Deſcent: by which Artifice they deluded the People, for they always joined the *French* to the *Popiſh* Intereſt, as if the one was to lay the Schemes, and the other to execute them; and if the *Popiſh* Cauſe wanted any Aſſiſtance, *France* was to carry it on by Force and Arms. By this Device, groſs as it was, they kept the People for ſome Years in conſtant Fear; and there was ſcarce greater Uproars, when *Hannibal* was at the Gates of *Rome*. And, indeed, they had, for a long time, made themſelves ſo familiar with theſe monſtrous Fictions, that upon the firſt Diſcovery of *Oates*'s Plot, they readily believed every thing he ſaid; for they had long expected, whatever he declared. Nay, they made the King's Authority ſubſervient to the carrying on this Force; for at their Importunities his Majeſty continually iſſued Proclamations, commanding the Papiſts to depart from the City, and his Subjects to quit the *French* Service. For they were an Army, which, if not

timely disbanded, might, when Opportunity offered, return to the Deſtruction of their Country. And, indeed, they did not raiſe a leſs Fear from the *Engliſh*, than from the *French* Soldiers; for they gave out, that they were ſent into *France* to be trained up in the Art of War, and then they might return in an hoſtile Manner to their own Country. When the King therefore perceived that there was a total Defection in the Parliament, and that all their Schemes tended to raiſe Hatred and Jealouſy in the Minds of the People, he made a Peace (the Subſtance of which I have mentioned before,) upon more honourable Terms than they could expect, conſidering their Obſtinacy. Therefore he prorogued the Parliament, from the 24th of *March*, to the 10th of *November* following; and from thence by farther Prorogations to the 13th of *April*, 1675.

In the mean time, the Factious ſtruck cloſe to their Buſineſs; they ſcattered Sedition every where, bewitched the People's Minds with falſe Doctrine, augmented their own Strength; and, in a Word, aimed at this one thing, to ſecure for themſelves the People's Votes, if they ſhould want them, at the next Election of Parliament-Men. They thought they had effectually done this; and as ſoon as the Parliament met, they confounded all their Deliberations and Proceedings with Jars, Diſputes, and Controverſies; ſo that no Meaſures taking effect during their Sitting, the King might be obliged to call a new Parliament, in which they did not doubt obtaining a vaſt Majority on their Side. This Deſign was not ſo ſecretly managed, but it reached the King's Ear, who, in a Speech, which he made the firſt Day the Parliament ſate, earneſtly deſired

ſired all honeſt Men to beware of it. But this was too late, the Infection had ſpread too far. Preſently Debates (a thing never known before) aroſe in the Houſe of Lords, whether, according to Cuſtom, an Addreſs ſhould be made to the King to return him thanks for his moſt gracious Speech; the *Teas* carried it, and the Factious oppoſed it; and that they might tranſmit to Poſterity a Teſtimony of their Refuſal, they entered their Proteſts in the Journals, and every one ſigned them by ſubſcribing his own Name. All they did in the Houſe of Commons, were Motions for removing the King's Counſellers, for inflicting ſeverer Puniſhments upon Papiſts, and dealing more moderately with the *Non-Conformiſts*; recalling the King's Subjects, who were in the *French* Service; for regulating the Exchequer; for putting the Fleet into a good Condition; and, in ſhort, for changing every thing. Againſt theſe open Attempts to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, a Motion was made from the other Side of the Houſe for a new Oath of Allegiance, by which every one, who enjoyed any Office of Profit or Truſt, or ſhould hereafter be choſe a Member of Parliament, ſhould be obliged to ſwear; "That it was unlawful to "reſiſt the King upon any Pretence whatſoever; "that he abhorred and deteſted that damnable "Poſition, that it was lawful to take up Arms "againſt the King's Perſon by his Authority, or "thoſe that are commiſſioned by him; that, "laſtly, he will not endeavour to make any "Alteration in the State, whether Civil or Ec-"cleſiaſtical". This occaſioned warm Speeches, which laſted many Days, and the Debates on both Sides never ran ſo high before. The Fac-

Lords Journal.

tious were inferior to the reſt in Number; however, there were many who came over to them, leſt the Privileges of the Lords ſhould be impaired; ſo that by this ſudden Change the Queſtion was dropped. And that it might never be brought again upon the Carpet, the Lords thus entered it into their Journals. "We the Peers "of this Kingdom do declare, that the Right of "the Nobility, and the Cuſtom of Parliament, "have been weakened by putting this Queſtion: "for the Right which every one of us have of "Voting in Parliament does not depend upon "certain Conditions, but comes to us by De-"ſcent; and it cannot ſuffer any Loſs but by "taking away the Honour of Nobility, which "can be done no otherwiſe than by being guilty "of High-Treaſon; that therefore they Proteſt, "by the Memory of their Anceſtors, and the "Dignity of their Families, that they will ne-"ver ſuffer the Privileges of the Nobility to "be called in Queſtion". This Oppoſition was carried on with ſuch Heat, that at laſt the whole Parliament, (the Factious having caſt another Bone of Contention among them) being wearied, partly with Debates, and partly with an eager Deſire to preſerve their Liberty, leſt by that Example their ancient Rights might be brought under new Reſtrictions, reſolved, that no Motion be made, for the Future, to require a new Oath to be taken in Parliament. And, perhaps, this Reſolution was not unſeaſonable; for the Lords cannot do any thing more praiſe-worthy, than to exert themſelves in taking care of the ancient Prerogatives of the Nobility: for if they once ſuffer the leaſt Alteration to be made, there will be no end of making Innovations. But, however,

Lords Journal, April 21ſt, 1675.

however, this Oath could not have affected their Rights, for it contained nothing more than was in the *Oath of Allegiance.* But ſince the *Preſbyterians,* though bound by that Oath, had rebelled againſt King *Charles* the Firſt, by that crafty Evaſion of ſeparating the King's Authority from his Perſon; it could not ſeem hard to any honeſt Man, who loved his Country, to guard againſt this treacherous Evaſion, by obliging them to take this new Oath. The Factious very well knew to what End and Purpoſe it was calculated, and therefore ſtrove hard to keep ſuch a Gap always open, by which they might invade the Government; for no Man was ignorant, and leaſt of all the *Diſſenters,* that from the *Reſtoration* the ſame Oath was taken by every one, who had any Employment, and by many of the Nobility. For they themſelves had chiefly the greateſt Poſts in the Militia, ſo that they had no Occaſion to oppoſe it, if they had not had ſome ſiniſter Deſigns in view. They would leſſen the Monarchy, to increaſe their own, and the People's Power; and therefore could not bear to have it ſtrengthened and defended by new Laws againſt their Attempts: as if they were conſidering how they ſhould purſue the ſame Steps, by which they had been ſo ſucceſsful againſt *Charles* the Firſt; all that they feared was, that this Oath would ſtop up the way, by which they were to carry on their Conſpiracy. They were reſolved, that the preſent Debate ſhould be ſubſervient to their own Deſigns, by perplexing thereby, and retarding the Progreſs of the King's Affairs; and they were the more intent upon this, that they might prevent their coming to any Reſolution, ſo that the King being wearied with the

Par-

Parliament's not doing any thing for him, might therefore diſſolve them; and if they could gain this Point, they did not doubt of having themſelves and their Party elected Members of the next Parliament. Beſides, as the Debates, concerning the Rights of the Nobility, were not over, they renewed the old Diſpute concerning the Privileges and Prerogatives of both Houſes. This was carried on with great Warmth on both ſides, and was the moſt memorable of any that ever happened in Parliament. The former Fire was begun tween *Skinner* and *Bernardiſton*, in the Year 1668, which burned for a Year and an half, before it was extinguiſhed. But this, as it laſted longer, ſo it was carried on with greater Heat and Animoſity; inſomuch, that the Parliament, forgetting their Dignity, had almoſt proceeded to Blows. When the Factious found that they loſt their Point concerning this new Oath, in the Houſe of Lords, having been out-voted, and that they could not prevent the Bill from paſſing; they raiſed this Diſpute between the Lords and Commons, that while they were very intent upon this, they might drop the other. It happened beyond their Expectation, that the Point in Debate was not only adjourned, but quite loſt; for when they had proceeded to very extraordinary Lengths, in carrying the Matter ſo high, they unanimouſly reſolved to drop the Queſtion intirely, leſt while they were thus attacked *without Doors*, they might ſuffer from Diviſions *within*. Nor, indeed, was the Diſpute about a Matter of ſmall Moment, it ſtruck at the Prerogative of the Lords, their Right of receiving Appeals, which they had enjoyed time out of mind, and never had been called in Queſtion before.

The

The Caſe between both Houſes was this: a Suit in Chancery was begun between *Sherley*, a Doctor in Phyſick, and *Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons; *Sherley*, againſt whom there was a Decree, appeals to the Houſe of Lords, and *Fagg* was ordered to put in his Anſwer; who making Complaint thereof to the Commons, was ordered not to appear; however, he put in an Appearance, and obtained a longer time to anſwer. In the mean while, *Sherley* was ordered by the Commons to be taken into Cuſtody, and being ſeized by their Serjeant at Arms, was forceably and tumultuouſly reſcued by one of the Peers, who was a leading Man in the Faction, and who alſo tore the Order of the Commons. The Factious complained to the Lower Houſe of the Inſult offered to their Authority; and their Party in the Upper Houſe cried out that the Proceeding was legal. The Commons, on the other hand, having put it to the Vote, reſolved, that it was not to be ſuffered; and the Lords declared, that they would never depart from their Rights. For they had come to this perpetual Reſolution, *that the Right of Appeals in all Cauſes lay before them, and that they had Power of giving Judgment therein, even tho' the Appellant or Reſpondent belonged to either Houſe; that Juſtice might not be delayed even for a Moment.* The Commons came to a Reſolution on the contrary, ſo that their Diſpute running to an extravagant Height, the Factious brought new Appeals every Day. The Matter came to quarrelling and brawling, then to reproaching and taunting, and at laſt to Malice and Hatred. But the chief Fault which they laid at each other's Door, was, that they had deſignedly broke the Peace and Union between both Houſes, on Purpoſe

poſe that their Meeting, for the Future, might be rendred fruitleſs. But the principal thing which they had in view, was, that they might provoke the King to diſſolve them; but he was too well apprized of their Deſign, and therefore deferred it. They ſtill grew more angry, and came to ſuch a Length, that both Houſes forbid any Conferences with each other. Thus the Kingdom was, as it were, divided into two Governments; each Houſe acted ſeparately, and would not allow any Correſpondence with one another. The Lords gave Judgment in Appeals; and the Commons ordered not only the Lawyers, who pleaded at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, but the Appellants alſo to be taken into Cuſtody. The Lords order them to be diſcharged: and thus every one who obeyed either Houſe, was ſure of being confined for complying. The King interpoſed in theſe diſtracted Affairs of the Kingdom, and deſired, that they would refer the Matter to him, promiſing to judge impartially. He told them that it was no difficult Point, and that it had been deſignedly begun by ſeditious Men in both Houſes, of which he had given them Notice at the Opening of the Seſſion. That if they did not uſe all their Endeavours to put a Stop to their Deſigns, the Authority and Uſe of Parliaments would come to nothing for the Future; and therefore he adviſed them to drop their Debates, and conſult about what was neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom. But this cool Advice increaſed the Flame, which breaking out of both Houſes, ſeized the People, to whom both the Lords and Commons appealed in the Libels which they publiſhed. All Hopes of Peace being now cut off, the Parliament was prorogued from the 9th

of

of *June* to the 13th of *October* following; and when they met on that Day, the King earneſtly deſired them to lay aſide their Debates concerning the Matter in Diſpute, and go upon the Affairs of the Nation, for he wanted a Supply to build Ships immediately. Great Grievances, and heavy Complaints againſt the Growth of *Atheiſm*, *French Intereſt*, and *Popery*, were whiſpered about among the Faction; they ſaid, that theſe things ought to be amended, and the Wrath of Heaven appeaſed by publick Prayers, before they took the State of the Kingdom into Conſideration. But the Majority voted a Supply of three hundred thouſand Pounds for building twenty firſt-rate Men of War. But when the Faction perceived, that all the Proceedings of the Commons ſeemed to have a ſmooth Countenance, they, on a ſudden, brought on again *Sherley*'s Cauſe in the Houſe of Lords; and the Debates thereupon were carried much higher than in the preceding Seſſion. For now the Controverſy was not concerning the Privileges of either Houſe, but about the Liberties of the Subject; for the Queſtion was changed into this, Whether they had a Right to appeal to the Houſe of Lords? The Commons by their Reſolution publickly declared, that *they had not Any*; *and whoever Appealed was a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of* England, *and ought to ſuffer as a Traytor.* The Lords were divided into ſeveral Opinions; and they who were ſincere and well-affected moved to have the Queſtion adjourned for ſix Weeks. They ſaid, that they ought to take the difficult and important Affairs of the Kingdom into Conſideration; and firſt, that a Supply ought to be granted

ſor the Navy, becauſe every thing, both at home and abroad, would be in a deſperate Condition, if we did not ſend out a Fleet immediately; that the Conſideration of the publick Affairs having been ſo long poſtponed by theſe private Diſputes, the Nation had thereby received great Damage; that if they would go upon them then, when they had finiſhed them, they might re-aſſume their Debates concerning the others, if they pleaſed.

But when, by their continual Diſputes, the Faction had eſpouſed *Sherley*'s Cauſe, the ſame was brought on again by the Induſtry of their Party in the Houſe of Commons: ſo that all Hopes of Accommodation being loſt, the factious Lords moved to addreſs the King to diſſolve the Parliament. Firſt, Becauſe by the Law and Cuſtom of *England* frequent Parliaments ought to be called. Secondly, That it was unreaſonable that a few Men ſhould, for ſo many Years, take to themſelves a Power over all the People of *England:* and laſtly, That continuing the ſame Parliament ſo long by often proroguing it, always gave Birth to Diſcord and Sedition. That they had too much Experience of this in the Caſe of *Sherley* and *Fagg*; ſo that all their Conſultations were rendred abortive. It was reſolved, by a Majority, that no ſuch Addreſs ſhould be preſented to the King; and thereupon the Faction entered and ſigned their Proteſts. There were ſuch great Commotions in both Houſes, (raiſed by the Faction,) that his Majeſty reſenting the Heinouſneſs of the Thing, prorogued the Parliament for a Year and three Months. They met again on the 14th
1676. Day of *December*, 1676; and the King, according

ing to Cuſtom, graciouſly and courteouſly, but with a little Warmth, exhorted them to Unanimity; that they would not ſuffer their old Diſputes to be renewed, that they were ſhameful, and unbecoming the Dignity of Parliament; that they were begun and fomented by factious Men, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. That the Welfare of the Nation ought to be their chief Care; nor ſhould they go upon any other Buſineſs, till they ſaw their Country was ſafe and out of Danger. He promiſed them every thing that was good, if they would agree among themſelves, and that he would paſs ſuch Acts, as they ſhould reaſonably make for better ſecuring their Religion and Liberties. Laſtly, he called God and Man to Witneſs, that he ſhould be innocent and blameleſs if the publick Affairs received any Detriment thro' their Diſcord and Sedition; and if they proceeded in that Manner, he would not bear ſuch Outrages. The Factious were ſcarce returned to the Houſe, when they began an Aſſault, as if they had come out of an Ambuſh. They ſaid, that the Prorogation having continued beyond the Year, the Parliament was conſequently diſſolved; for by the Laws of *England* they were to meet Annually, and therefore as their Meeting was deferr'd longer, they were thereby diſſolved; and that it was their Duty to diſſolve themſelves. At the ſame time the *Rabble*, in great Crowds, ſtopped all the Paſſages that led to the Parliament-Houſe, and they were brought out of *Wapping*, a Place inhabited by the very *Dreggs* of the People, ſuch as *Porters*, *Sailors*, *Ship-wrights*, *Butchers*, *Coblers*, *Curriers*, *Rope-makers*, and all kind of *Smiths*, and *Mechanicks*, a vaſt Multi-

tude in Number. The *Demagogues* or Mob-Maſter (for ſo we call every *chattering Feaſt-Monger*) thought, by the riotous and tumultuous Proceedings of thoſe *Fellows* at the Doors of both Houſes, to ſtrike a Terror into the Parliament, that they might rave with greater Inſolence within the Houſe. And if they ſhould happen to ſucceed, then they had a Mob ready to roar and bellow about the Streets, that the Parliament was diſſolved. For it was the conſtant Cuſtom of the Faction, to aſſemble ſuch ſort of Fellows, and talk with them about State-Affairs, and to treat them, that being drenched in Wine, their frantick Behaviour may appear with greater Zeal. By ſuch Artifices the Rebellion againſt *Charles* the Firſt was begun, in whoſe Footſteps they trod ſo exactly, that they betrayed a Barrenneſs of Subtilty and Invention. For to follow always the ſame Pattern, and not to form any thing new, manifeſts a dull and heavy Genius; and to dwell ſo long upon a thing that is ſo well known, and ſo freſh in every Man's Memory, is the greateſt Sign of Folly; and this alone (at leaſt in my Opinion) preſerved the Kingdom from new Deſtruction, becauſe by the ſame thing it was deſtroyed but a few Years before. But the Factious being ſuch great Numbers of their own Party began to debate about the Diſſolution of the Parliament, before they would ſuffer the Houſe to go upon any other thing. The Lords ſo highly reſented the Inſolence of theſe Men, that they ordered them to ask Pardon; and when they refuſed it, four of them (for as yet no more had appeared) were committed to the *Tower*; and among theſe was the Earl of *Shaftesbury*. They were continued Priſoners for a Year,

nor

nor were they diſcharged till they asked Pardon upon their Knees. Their Party and Accomplices in the Houſe of Commons being terrified at the Example which the Lords had ſet, dropp'd the Queſtion as ſuddenly, as if they had laid down their Arms: and a Stop being ſo ſeaſonably put to their tumultuous Proceedings, not only Peace and Tranquillity were reſtored, but there was a good Harmony and Underſtanding between both Houſes of Parliament. They granted a Supply of ſix hundred thouſand Pounds for building thirty Men of War; which, when the King had got it almoſt in his own Hands, he preſerved with much Difficulty, and not without a great Struggle. For preſently a Diſpute aroſe in both Houſes about Privileges, and the Form of Words, which the Factious on both Sides ſpun out into as great a Length as they could. When the Lords ſaw that there was no likelihood of putting an end to this Controverſy, they choſe rather to part with their Power, than not to relieve the Kingdom, which was in ſuch great Neceſſity. This Conceſſion (that it might not be produced as a Precedent) was entered in their Journals the 16th of *April*, tho' ſome of the Lords oppoſed it; and ſuch was the Contumacy of the Faction, that they would not give over the Diſpute, before this was done. Matters being thus ſettled, the Faction earneſtly perſuaded the King, the Parliament, and the People, to a War with the moſt powerful King of *France*: and, indeed, the War was not only juſt, but reaſonable and neceſſary, and met with the Approbation of all good Men, and the King was before inclined to it of his own accord. The Provinces of *Flanders* are

ſituated

ſituated neareſt to the *Britiſh* Seas; and theſe, for ſometime, had been under the Juriſdiction of *Spain*, and were a Defence to the *Engliſh*, ſtanding like a Caſtle between them, and a foreign Enemy. But by ſudden and frequent Incurſions, the *French* King had penetrated into theſe Parts, and took ſeveral Towns and Cities. There was no Enemy to oppoſe his Progreſs; the *Spaniard* was too weak to begin a War, having neither Men nor Money, and the *Dutch* being quite jaded by long Wars, complained, that they could not undergo another any longer. The *Engliſh* had harraſſed them at Sea from the Year 1665, and the *French* by Land from the Year 1672; and having made a Peace with the *Engliſh* in the Year 1674, they were not very ſucceſsful in their Battles with the *French* from that time. They had raiſed heavy Taxes to pay their own Troops, and they were alſo obliged to defray half the Charges of their Allies: and it was the King of *England* alone, who was capable of giving new Life to their Affairs, which were in a declining Condition, and almoſt ruined. But he muſt aſſiſt them in time, otherwiſe, a Province which might then be defended, would quickly be conquered. The King therefore was pleaſed with a War that was ſo juſt and neceſſary; and in his Anſwer told them, that he would have begun it before, if he had had Money to bear the Expences of it; and therefore if they would grant him a Supply, he would not defer it a Day. They promiſed immenſe Sums of Money, but would not give one Penny; and the King declared, that he would not proclaim War, before they granted him a Supply of ſix hundred thouſand Pounds to pay his Army.

They

They did not ſay that they would, or would not grant it; but put it off to the next Seſſion; at which time, they *reſolved*, That they could grant no Supply, until the King acquainted the Houſe, that he had made an Alliance with the *Dutch*, and had declared War againſt *France*; and then they would conſult of Ways and Means for defraying the Expences of the War; and if his Majeſty ſhould enter into an Alliance upon ſuch Terms as were acceptable to them, that then they would aſſiſt him. The King was ſo much incenſed at ſuch new and unheard-of Stubborneſs, that he told them he would never ſuffer ſo great an Affront: That the Power of making Peace and War was in him alone, and that they had nothing to do with it; that by their Proceeding they would take this Power from him, and oblige him not only to make ſuch Alliances, but alſo upon ſuch Terms, as they thought proper; that if they could gain this Point, he ſhould be a Subject, and not a King, for the future; that he ſhould be accountable to the Parliament; and have no more than the Shadow and empty Name of a King, not only among his own People, as well as among Foreigners. Upon this the Parliament was prorogued, from time to time, for a Year; and when they met, the King told them in his Speech, that he had made an Alliance with the *Dutch* upon ſuch Terms, as pleaſed him: then he required ſuch Supplies as ſhould enable him to defray the Charge of the War; and that leſs Forces would not be ſufficient, than a Fleet of ninety Men of War, and an Army of thirty thouſand Men at leaſt: if they would make Proviſion for theſe,

May 21.

May 28.

Jan. 28. 1678.

theſe, he did not doubt but the War would be proſperous; but that he would not enter into it with half an Army. Nevertheleſs, they not only go on as before, but, with the greateſt Preſumption, proceed to diminiſh the King's Authority: *Reſolving*, That the Confederates ſhould not come into any other Terms of Peace, but thoſe that were agreed to at the *Pyrenean* Treaty; and that all Correſpondence with *France* ſhall be forbidden, not to the Allies only, but likewiſe to all the World; but as to a Supply for carrying on the War, not one Word was mentioned. The King, not able to bear their Arrogance, admoniſhed them, with ſome Reſentment, not to go on at that Rate; and told them plainly that he would not be trifled with, for they muſt immediately comply with his Commands, or he would lay aſide all Thoughts of the War. Thus he obtained from them (but much againſt their Wills) the Supply, which he had been a whole Year in demanding, to carry on the War, which they themſelves had put him upon. They granted a Million of Money for fitting out and Manning Ninety Sail of Men of War, and raiſing an Army of thirty thouſand Men: for the Faction would come into any Meaſures, rather than the War ſhould not be carried on. Thus they always diſſembled their Loyalty; firſt to puſh the King into a War, and when engaged therein, and diſtreſſed for want of Money, to deliver him up as a Prey to his Enemy; which indeed they did at that very time, as much as lay in their Power. Having granted that Supply to begin the War, they reſolved, that all Traffick with *France* ſhould be forbidden for three Years; ſo that by this the King would

loſe

loſe more by the Deficiency of the Imports, than the Supply amounted to. Beſides, tho' the *French* King on the other hand did ſufficiently revenge this, by forbidding all Commerce with *Britain* for ten Years, yet they laid heavier Duties upon Goods imported from *France*, whether they were the natural Product of the Country, or only manufactured there; which generally tended not ſo much to the Support of Life, as to the Gratification of Luxury and Pleaſure, as Wine, Brandy, Silks, and Linnen; the Imports of which produced three hundred thouſand Pounds yearly. They carried their Point by a new Artifice, *viz. Tacking* both Bills together; ſo that if the King gained any thing by the one, he loſt it by the other, for it was not in his Power to ſeparate them, but was under a Neceſſity of paſſing or rejecting both. As this was the firſt, ſo it was the laſt Example of *Tacking*; for the King forbid the Parliament to uſe any ſuch Method for the future. But this was not the only new thing which they had undertaken at that time, for they paſſed another Bill concerning Apparel, that every one ſhould wear Woollen, of the Product of our own Country, for ſix Months in every Year; by which there would be a great Loſs not only in our Imports, but in our Exports alſo; and therefore the Lords flung out the Bill. But now the War was begun, and a Peace made with the *Dutch* upon honourable Terms; the Subſtance of which was, That there ſhould be a perpetual Peace and Friendſhip between the King of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*; that the League between them ſhould be Offenſive and Defenſive; that there ſhould not be any Ceſſation of Arms, but by mutual Conſent, or a

ſeparate Peace concluded; that they ſhould join their Forces to endeavour to bring the Kings of *Spain* and *France* to a Peace: that *France* in the firſt Place ſhould reſtore to the *Spaniard* all the Places in *Flanders*, taken in the War; and to the *States General*, and the Princes of *Germany*, all that were taken from them, particularly *Friburgh*, and the other Towns and Cities in the Province of *Breſlau*; That *Lorrain* ſhould be reſtored whole and entire to the Duke of that Name; and laſtly, that either of thoſe Monarchs, who ſhould refuſe ſuch Terms of Peace as the King of *Great-Britain* would offer, he then ſhould be compelled to accept them by Force and Arms. The King joyfully acquainted the Parliament with what he had ſo well obtained and provided; but they on a ſudden (*May* 4.) reſolved, contrary to every one's Expectation, that the Alliance was by no Means pleaſing to them, nor was it for the Good of their Country. This incenſed the King to ſuch a Degree, that two Days after he ſent them a Meſſage, commanding them to deſiſt; nevertheleſs they proceeded as before, and with repeated Invectives complained of evil and corrupt Councellors, even to the Reproach of the King. His Majeſty hardly gave them any Anſwer, but with great Warmth asked them, if they were Mad? and ſaid, that their unheard-of Inſolence was ſo great, that for his Part, he knew not what Name to give it: and upon this he adjourn'd them for a Fortnight.

But at the ſame time that the *Dutch* had drawn the King of *Great-Britain* into an Alliance, they treated of a ſeparate Peace with the *French*, as if they had combined with the Factious: and when a Quadruple Alliance was on

foot

ſoot between the *Emperor*, the *Spaniard*, the *Engliſh*, and the *Dutch*, the *States-General* ſent an Ambaſſador into *England* for that Purpoſe, but he wanted a ſufficient Power to treat; and after a long Delay he received proper Inſtructions; but ſo much time was ſpent before this was done, that the *French* and the *Dutch* had clapp'd up a Peace. For the King of *France* having received Intelligence of the great Preparations *England* was making for War, and knowing that the *Dutch* were tired with it, voluntarily ſent private Inſtructions to his Miniſters then at the Congreſs of *Nimeguen*, to make a Peace with them. The other Confederates were highly provoked at ſuch Baſeneſs, and the *Dutch* were the only Perſons who ſeem'd to comply. Thus the face of Affairs was changed, and they who were the firſt that came into the War, were alſo the firſt who ſued for a Peace. The Confederates therefore complained in vain of their firſt Alliance, and the King of *England* of that which he had made; by which it had been mutually agreed that they ſhould not enter into a ſeparate Peace. But the *Dutch* would have a Peace upon any Terms, even tho' they deſcended ſo low as to have their Lives ſpared; and the *French* were reſolved to attempt any thing that might break the Alliance, ſince the King of *England* was come into it. The Affairs abroad being in this Condition, and the Faction deſerting the King at home, the Intereſt of the Confederates was very much weakened by this freſh Wound, and quickly ruined. For the *Dutch*, pretending to have loſt all hope of Succour from *England*, haſtened on the Concluſion of the Peace they had premeditated, and the *French* King

was as eager to have it ſigned and ratified, leſt they ſhould change their Minds.

May 23. The King of *England* was irritated at a Change of Affairs, ſo apparently ludicrous; and complaining to the Parliament, and expoſtulating with them, ſaid, that by their repeated Importunities and Requeſts he had begun the War, and that they had now made a Jeſt not only of him, but of the Confederates, to the Prejudice of both: that he was aſhamed to ſee ſo much Diſhonour and Levity in his Subjects; that let the Event be what it would, he would clear himſelf from the Imputation of any Fault; and he adviſed them to conſider what Peace could be made, when the Confederacy was broke, which could not eaſily be renewed between ſo many Princes. If the *Dutch*, *ſays he*, have broke their Faith, and do make a ſeparate Peace, they will plead our Inconſtancy as an excuſe; they will tell you, that they have been drawn into the Alliance by your Promiſes, that no Supplies ſhould be wanting for carrying on the War, till the moſt *Chriſtian* King ſhould be obliged to accept a juſt Peace. But when they ſhall have found that all your Counſels are changed into Jarrs and Debates about Religion, and that you will not grant a Supply till they are ended, (tho' they will never have an End) when they ſhall be aſſured that the Royal Prerogative has been violated by your preſumptuous Demands, which are not to be borne; what wonder is it that they ſhould make Peace upon the beſt Terms they could obtain, while there was an Opportunity of doing it; eſpecially when they had no Expectation of any Succour from *England*, at whoſe Nod almoſt, while there was an Union among you at home, the

the Hope and Fortune of all Europe depended. But when the *Dutch* have made a ſeparate Peace, the Confederacy will be broke to Pieces; for the *Spaniard* cannot be able to carry on the War in *Flanders*; nor the *Emperor* in *Germany*, when the *Dutch* and *Spaniard* have withdrawn from him; nor, indeed, can the Duke of *Lorrain*, the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, be a Match for the Enemy, but muſt accept ſuch Laws, as he ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe. The Fault therefore would lie at their Doors, if the Peace of *Europe* ſhould be ſnatched away, when they had it almoſt in their Hands. He told them, that if they were the firſt that would ſhew the bad Example, that then all the Confederates would fall off, one after another. That they ſhould either have carried on the War longer, or never have begun it; for as the Matter was managed by them, it was a Jeſt and a Fraud to all *Europe*. Before this, every one might have made Peace for himſelf, now each of them is ſingly expoſed to the Enemy, and muſt ſubmit to what he ſhall impoſe upon them. That they had not betrayed their Allies only, but themſelves likewiſe, for they had provoked a moſt powerful King, and they were not a Match for him without the Confederates, much leſs when they were divided among themſelves. Laſtly, that whatever Misfortunes ſhould happen to themſelves or their Allies, that he indeed ſhould bear his Share, and they the Diſgrace of them. He therefore adviſed them, to put a Stop for a little while at leaſt to their Diſputes; for all things ſeemed to tend to Peace: A Truce was made, which he perſuaded himſelf would end in Peace, if they would be true to themſelves, and

and not lay down their Arms; for no honourable Terms were to be expected but by Sword in Hand; that therefore the Fleet muſt not be laid up, nor the Army disbanded, till the Peace was concluded, nor would he do either until that ſhould be accompliſhed.

May 27. Hereupon they came to a Reſolution that very Day, that the King ſhould immediately begin the War, or disband the Army: but his Majeſty anſwered, that he would not do any ſuch thing till the Truce was expired, and therefore demanded a Supply to enable him to pay

May 30. his Soldiers. Nothing was to be heard in the Houſe on the next Day when they met, but that the Army ſhould be disbanded immediately: at which the King was highly incenſed, and upbraided them with their Malepertneſs concerning the Forces in *Flanders*; and ſaid, he would not deal ſo baſely and treacherouſly with his Allies, as to quit thoſe Towns and Cities, which were under his Protection, until they could ſend other Troops to defend them: for if he did ſo, he ſhould not only deſert thoſe Places, but forfeit his Royal Word, and be no longer a Guarantee. Upon this they granted a Month's Pay

June 7. for the Troops in *Flanders*, and began to inſiſt more eagerly upon disbanding the Army; but the King anſwered, that though they made ever ſo great a Clamour, he would neither disband the Army, nor lay up the Fleet, while a Peace was ſo uncertain: for it would be an everlaſting Stain upon *England*, to make ſuch a dangerous Experiment for the ſake only of ſaving a little Money. That to lay down their Arms, before every thing had been ſettled, and a Peace made, was without Precedent; that if the Army

my was disbanded, the Enemy would impoſe what Terms he pleaſed; and if a Peace ſhould be made, and no Forces kept on foot, he might break that Peace, whenever he had a Mind to it; if therefore this Opportunity be loſt, it may never be recovered, for there is very little difference between being defenceleſs and conquered: that the Intereſt of *Europe*, which had been hitherto preſerved by ſo much Toil and Labour, would, through their Cowardlineſs, be utterly deſtroyed in one Moment. That for his Part, he would never deſert his Allies, but would either obtain an honourable Peace, or carry on the War; therefore, whether they granted a Supply or not, he was reſolved to accompliſh by his Arms, if he could not by his Councils, the Matter which he had managed hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully.

The Parliament, on the other hand, reſolved *June* 15. to grant a Supply to pay off the Army, and no other: but as all things tended more and more every Day to a Peace, the King told them that he would not disband the Army; for tho' a Peace was made, the *Spaniard* would not be *June* 18. able to defend *Flanders*; that unleſs *England* took it into her Protection, it would lie naked and expoſed, and become a Prey to every Enemy; that let it coſt what it would, it ſhould never be given up by him; and that it would have been taken long before if he had not defended it. He deſired them to conſider, that the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of *Oſtend*, and the Harbour was ſo commodious, that they had a Fleet of forty Ships therein, and that it was ſituated oppoſite to the Mouth of the *Thames*; and what would not they give to drive ſuch a dangerous Enemy farther off? He would alſo have them

them reflect, what Glory it would be to *Great-Britain*, to have fitted out a Fleet of ninety Men of War, and to have raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, in forty Days; by which alone the whole Fortune of *Europe* was changed. If therefore they had any Value for the Dignity of his Crown at home, or for his Superiority of Power in negotiating Affairs abroad; if they deſired that a happy End ſhould be put to the War with the *Algerine* Pirates; if they would have the Remainder of their Lives attended with Peace and Tranquility; if they would have him repoſe any Truſt and Confidence in his Parliaments for the future; they ſhould take care that his Exchequer ſhould never be deſtitute of its uſual Supplies: and that they ſhould make an Addition of three hundred thouſand Pounds to his Revenue; otherwiſe, he could never be able, as King of *England*, to ſupport the neceſſary Expences of his Government. The only Anſwer his Majeſty received, was, that they would never grant the Sum he demanded; and it was carried in the Negative, *Noes* 202, *Teas* 145: thus the Factious out-voted the loyal Members by a Majority of 57; and they only granted a Supply of ſix hundred thouſand Pounds for disbanding the Army, which with much Difficulty and Struggling they brought to bear, for their uſual Diſputes were raiſed every Day between two Houſes. But the King having paſſed the Act for granting this Supply on the 25th of *July*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*; from thence to the 19th, and farther on to the 1ſt of *October*, at which time his Majeſty laid *Oates*'s Conſpiracy before the Parliament.

FINIS.

7 DE 61